

**The Economics of Trade on the Eastern Cape Frontier, 1820-1860: A
Study of the Glass and Metal Artefact Assemblages from Huntley
Street, Farmerfield and Fort Double Drift**

By

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“The Economics of Trade on the Eastern Cape Frontier, 1820-1860: A Study of the Glass and Metal Artefact Assemblages from Huntley Street, Farmerfield and Fort Double Drift”

I declare that the above dissertation/thesis is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



SIGNATURE

24 January 2018

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The collections-based research reported upon in this dissertation focuses on three sites in the Eastern Cape: Huntley Street in Grahamstown, Farmerfield, a nearby Wesleyan mission station, and Fort Double Drift, a British fortification on the Great Fish River. The collection, which is housed in the Albany Museum, derives from Patrice Jeppson's excavations, completed in the 1980s. Analyses of the excavated glass and metal, augmented by a close reading of tender and shopkeepers' advertisements in *The Graham's Town Journal*, chronicle how merchants, settlers, soldiers, missionaries and local African communities were involved in, and affected by, trade between 1820 and 1860. The study explores aspects of the mercantile economy, consumerism and military provisioning relating to a wide range of imported glass and metal merchandise. The burgeoning trade linked various enterprises, groups and individuals through monetary and social transactions, reflecting the steady incorporation of the Eastern Cape into the British colonial trading network.

Keywords: Eastern Cape, Grahamstown, Huntley Street, Farmerfield, Fort Double Drift, trade networks, historical archaeology, agency, glass, metal.

Die versamelingsgebaseerde navorsing waaroor in hierdie verhandeling verslag gedoen word, fokus op drie terreine in die Oos-Kaap: Huntley-straat in Grahamstad, Farmerfield, 'n nabygeleë Wesleyaanse sendingstasie, en Fort Dubbeldrif 'n Britse vesting aan die Groot-Visrivier. Die versameling, wat in die Albany-museum gehuisves word, is afkomstig van Patrice Jeppson se opgrawings, wat in die 1980's voltooi is. Ontledings van die opgegraaft glas en metaal, aangevul deur 'n grondige studie van tender- en winkelieradvertensies in *The Graham's Town Journal*, boekstaaf hoe handelaars, setlaars, soldate, sendelinge en plaaslike Afrika-gemeenskappe by handel tussen 1820 en 1860 betrokke was, en daardeur beïnvloed is. Die studie verken aspekte van die handelsekonomie, verbruikerisme en militêre bevoorrading met betrekking tot 'n wye verskeidenheid ingevoerde glas- en metaalhandelsware. Die bloeiende handel het verskeie ondernemings, groepe en individue deur monetêre en sosiale transaksies met mekaar verbind, wat die geleidelike opname van die Oos-Kaap in die Britse koloniale handelsnetwerk weerspieël.

Sleutelwoorde: Oos-Kaap, Grahamstad, Huntley-straat, Farmerfield, Fort Dubbeldrif, handelsnetwerke, historiese argeologie, agentskap, glas, metaal.

Uphando lwezinto eziqokelelweyo ekunikwe ingxelo ngalo kule disetheyishini, lugxile kwiindawo ezintathu eziseMpuma Koloni ezizezi: eHuntley Street eRhini, eFarmerfield, esisitishi seMishini yamaWesile, naseFort Double Drift, eyinqaba yamaBhilitane ekwiGreat Fish River. Le ngqokelela, egcinwe eAlbany Museum, isuka kwizinto ezazigrunjwe nguPatrice Jeppson, grunjo olo olwagqitywa phaya koo1980. Uphononongo lweeglasi neentsimbi ezagronjwayo, oluxhaswa nakukufundwa kweentengiso ezakhutshwayo zeethenda nezoonovenkile kwi-*The Graham's Town Journal*, lunika iinkcukacha zeendlela abarhwebi, abemi ababesuka kwamanye amazwe apheresya kweelwandle, abefundisi ababesuka kwamanye amazwe, amajoni noluntu olumnyama lwaloo mimandla ababebandakanyeka ngayo nebabechatshazelwa ngayo lurhwebo olwaqhubeka phakathi ko-1820 no-1860. Olu phando luvelela imiba yoqoqosho lorhwebo, ukhuselo lwabathengi, nobonelelo lwezinto zomkhosi lwezinto eziliqela zeeglasi nezentsimbi. Olu rhwebo olwaluhlumile lwahlanganisa amashishini ahlukileyo, amaqela kunye nabantu nje abazimeleyo ngokuthi barhwebelane ngeemali nangezinto zentlalo, yaye oku kubonisa ukungeniswa kweMpuma Koloni kuthungelwano lorhwebo lobukoloniya lwamaBhilitane.

Amagama azizalathisi: Eastern Cape, Grahamstown, Huntley Street, Farmerfield, Fort Double Drift, uthungelwano lorhwebo, imbali ngezinto zakudala, iarhente, iglasi, intsimbi

*Our Doubts are Traitors and Make Us Lose the Good We Oft Might Win by
Fearing to Attempt...* William Shakespeare (Measure for Measure Act I, Scene
IV).

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ABSTRACT

The prospect of financial gain remains one of the strongest motives for why the British re-occupied the Cape of Good Hope in 1806 (Butler 1970b; Muller 1981: 117). In the early 19th century the Cape Colony was still regarded as a valuable trade route; a source of raw material and a market for manufactured goods (Beck 1987: 18; Kinahan 2000: 4; Winer 1994: 36). This economic prosperity and stability enabled the colony to expand. It is the expansion into the Eastern Province that forms the backdrop for this research.

This study focuses on three historical archaeological sites situated close to Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape: Farmerfield, a Wesleyan mission station; Fort Double Drift, a British frontier fortification and the street site, Huntley Street, located within the town. The sites originally formed part of Patrice Jeppson's PhD research completed in the late 1980s at four sites.

The period under study (1820-1860) in this research is significant in the history of Grahamstown as it coincides with the arrival of the 1820 Settlers in the Cape. The economy in the town was significantly impacted by the subsequent importation of British goods into the town. This research looks at how two classes of artefacts, the glass and metal, were incorporated into Grahamstown and the surrounding landscape, and assimilated by the population groups, in the first 46 years of the town's existence.

New products, like the glass and metal merchandise imported into the colony, altered the social standing of those with access to these products. The subsequent adjustments to, and competition for, access to the newly imported produce provides a record of how each group adapted to the changing environment of the Eastern Cape. The competition is also synonymous with the aspirations of the groups to both emulate their betters and separate themselves from those with a lower social standing and economic status.

The research methodology is divided into a two-part strategy to study trade. First, the research focuses on the trade network that developed in the Eastern

Cape and in Grahamstown. The network is split into several distinctive parts, starting from the coastal harbours to Grahamstown and then working from this town to the frontier and the interior, effectively linking the suppliers to the consumers. Second, the research recognises that trade is not devoid of human interaction. By incorporating agency into the research, the social aspects of trade are also investigated (Agbe-Davies & Bauer 2010: 13-14, 18; Sherratt 2010).

No further excavations were completed. The glass and metal found at the three sites are analysed by commodity and function and the results are supplemented by referring to the extensive documentary records from the period and the local newspaper from the town, *The Graham's Town Journal*.

This research moves beyond archaeology's pre-occupation with a "material data set" (Agbe-Davies & Bauer 2010: 18) by focusing on both the economic and social aspects of trade (see Schmidt 2006). By restricting this research to the same 40-year period utilised by Jeppson (2005), Winer and Deetz (1990) and Winer (1994) the work can be integrated into the existing body of research already completed in the Eastern Cape.

Furthermore, this research also shows that it is important to work with collections currently housed in the archives and basements of South African museums. It is essential not to lose sight of the fact that the excavated material still has information to offer and will help to rewrite a more inclusive history of Grahamstown and by extension of southern Africa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Nine tenths of education is encouragement...Anatole Francis.

In 2011 I came to the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at UNISA to discuss possible topics for my Master's research. That day I met with Prof Jan Boeyens, Dr Maria Van der Ryst, Joanna Behrens and Francois Coetzee. While those first ideas did not become my final topic, I felt that initial meeting was a success. I appreciated the fact that the Department supported my decision to continue my studies in archaeology. I am indebted to my supervisors, Joanna Behrens and Prof Jan Boeyens, for their support, guidance and patience over the past seven years. Their names are at the top of a long list of people and institutions that have assisted me in the completion of my research.

The archaeological material from Dr Patrice Jeppson's excavations was accessioned to the Albany Museum upon completion of her work in the late 1980s. Although the original permit had lapsed it did not seem appropriate to work on the collection without contacting her. I am grateful for her positive response to the fact that I wanted to continue working on the materials from her excavation. I also appreciate the fact that she allowed me to contact her with any queries I had on the sites and the glass and metal artefacts.

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Patricia Scott Deetz was the first person who allowed me to have access to her work. While her work on the architecture of Grahamstown did not directly tie into

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Gerda Coetzee provided moral support throughout my Master's and information on musical instruments. Fiona Vernal passionately discussed her work at Farmerfield via email and Pam McFadden, the curator at Talana Museum, aided in glass identification. Dr Lita Webley shared the work that she completed at Botha's Post, Simon Hall took the time to discuss the original excavations with me and Graham Reeks gave me advice on all the buttons in the assemblages. Rina Faria and Wim Biemond assisted in the identification of the glass beads in the assemblages and Karlis Karklins gave me advice on the use of window glass in military sites.

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¹ The National Monuments Council (NMC) was the old national heritage conservation authority in South Africa. This authority was replaced by SAHRA, the South African Heritage Resources Agency.

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DISCLAIMER

“Anyone who writes about South Africa has to cope with a terminological minefield” ... Leonard Thompson 1991: xiii-xiv.

Nineteenth-century historical records utilise words and sentiments that Payne (1998) aptly describes as reflecting the “attitudes of a different age” and although unacceptable today might not have had the “same pejorative associations in the 19th century” (see also Beck 2000). By analysing the rich documentary record for Grahamstown and the Eastern Cape during the early 19th century it is impossible to avoid all sensitive terminology. These terms will be utilised in direct quotations for historical accuracy. In all aspects of this research project care is taken to provide a well-rounded analysis of the documentary evidence of the Eastern Cape.

NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY

While a glossary of the relevant nomenclature terminology for the glass and metal will be included in the Appendices at the end of the dissertation, it is important to clarify certain 19th-century Eastern Cape terminology that will be utilised in this research:

The Xhosa Wars of the 19th century are now referred to as the Frontier Wars or the Wars of Land Dispossession. While the political relevance of these name changes is understood, this research focuses on trade. The Eastern Cape frontier shifted because of these Wars, and the resultant peace treaties, imposed restrictions on the movements of people across the frontier. Because of this focus area the term Frontier Wars is given precedence in this research.

In 1812 the military headquarters on the Eastern frontier was named in honour of Colonel Graham, in recognition of the role he played in the War of 1812. The original spelling of the town's name was Graham's Town. The modern-day spelling of the town's name is Grahamstown and the traditional Xhosa name for Grahamstown is *Rini*. Wherever possible, historical sources are reproduced in their original format. In all other instances the modern-day spelling for Grahamstown is utilised.

The archaeological site designated as Huntley Street, situated within the boundaries of the modern city, has been named after a street close to where the excavations took place. There are two different spellings for this street in the documentary records. The street name was originally spelt as Huntly Street as it was named after Captain Huntly, who was killed in the War of 1819 (Collier 1961: 20). The modern-day spelling of this street, used above, was introduced under the Group Areas Act. The modern-day spelling is utilised in this research (Holshausen 1999: 8).

To effectively situate Fort Double Drift in the landscape of the Eastern Cape the focus also shifted to fortifications near that fort. One such fort, that also played a significant role in trade, is Fort Willshire. In the documentary records for the fort

the name of the fort is spelt in two different ways: Wiltshire and Willshire. Both Coetzee (1994) and Bugarin (2002) utilise the second spelling, citing the fact that the fort was named after Lt Colonel Thomas Willshire, the Commanding Officer on the Eastern frontier. Wherever possible historical sources are reproduced in their original format. In all other instances the spelling utilised by Coetzee (1994) and Bugarin (2002) will also be utilised in this research.

The main newspaper printed in Grahamstown is *The Graham's Town Journal or Cape of Good Hope Eastern Province Register*. This is the full title of the newspaper. In the interest of brevity, the title is shortened to *The Graham's Town Journal* in this research.

1 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

There are four types of interactions: Economic, religious, aesthetic and political... Wilson & Thompson 1969: 238.

Colonialism is the daughter of industrialism... Delavignette 1964: 26.

When Grahamstown was established as the military headquarters for the Eastern frontier in August 1812 the history of the town was indelibly linked to the British military. Eight years later, in 1820, the military population was augmented by the arrival of a large group of British immigrants. The resulting changes to the layout of the town, and the composition of its population, significantly impacted the economy and the surrounding landscape. This ensured that Grahamstown, its population, and the frontier area, would become an integral part of the economic history in southern Africa in the early 19th century.

In the late 1980s Jeppson (2005) completed excavations at four historical archaeological sites close to Grahamstown for her PhD thesis², *Material and Mythical Perspectives on Ethnicity: An Historical Archaeology Study of Cultural Identity, National Historiography, and the Eastern Cape Frontier of South Africa, 1820-1860*. The four sites are Huntley Street (a street site in the town), Farmerfield (Wesleyan mission station), Fort Double Drift (British fortification) and Pigot Park (a hinterland Settler homestead).

Jeppson (2005: 258,262) focused on the imported ceramics found at the four sites. She utilised a combination of documentary evidence and archaeology to interpret the ceramics from an inter-site, intra-site and global perspective. The methodology was chosen because Britain dominated the ceramic market in the early 19th century. Ceramics were also not locally produced in the Eastern Cape at the time. The consumers in the Colony selected items from the merchandise that was

² SAHRA ID 9/2/003/0007.

imported into the Colony and taken overland to Grahamstown. These selections were dependent on availability, preference and need.

Furthermore, she viewed mass-produced products, like ceramics, as social symbols. She felt that the population of Grahamstown would imbue the ceramics with their own meaning and the ceramics would become “Eastern Cape colonialized”. Also by utilising the ceramics in distinctly Eastern Cape ways the consumers were no longer viewed as “passive consumers” of imported British goods (Jeppson 2005: 28).

This research focuses on three of the four original sites from Jeppson’s research. The same 40-year time frame (1820-1860) utilised by Jeppson is also retained in this research. This chronology was chosen as the history of all four sites fitted loosely within this period. The chronology at Huntley Street dates from the towns inception in 1819, while Fort Double Drift was occupied between 1836 and 1853 and Farmerfield was established in 1839.

The three sites are vastly different on the surface: Huntley Street, a street site close to High Street, the main trading thoroughfare in Grahamstown, Farmerfield, the Wesleyan mission farming community expounding the ideals of religious conformity and conversion and Fort Double Drift, a British military fortification tasked with peacekeeping duties on the frontier. The differences between the three sites are advantageous when studying trade. By highlighting the different environments and the interactions between the population groups at the three different sites this research focused on formulating a more complete record of trade in and around Grahamstown in the early 19th century.

The assemblage excavated at Huntley Street was representative of the imported materials arriving from the Cape Colony. The population of the town had direct access to all the merchandise arriving into and leaving the town. Because of this Jeppson (2005) maintained Huntley Street as a control sample for comparisons with the other three sites. This rationale is continued in this research. Huntley Street is utilised as a control sample to compare trade in the town with that of the mission station and the frontier fortification.

Farmerfield was also analysed in conjunction with the trade network in Grahamstown. The mission station residents became active participants and consumers in the town's economy. The residents traded produce for merchandise and maintained active employment on the surrounding farms and as transport riders in the town. Fort Double Drift's strategic location, protecting the road between Fort Brown and Post Victoria, placed the fort into direct contact with traders crossing the frontier and returning to Grahamstown. The fort was also reliant on Grahamstown for military provisions and military contracts were actively sought by the businesses in the town.

The glass and metal artefact assemblages³ were analysed to study trade at the three research sites. Both artefacts were imported into the Cape Colony and from there were transferred to the Eastern Cape and the frontier towns where they featured prominently in the local markets. The glass is commercial and is visible in the merchant advertisements in the town. The products stored in glass were consumed daily and the luxury glass items were actively sought by the consumers in the town. In contrast the metal is representative of the improvements evident in the town. The metal formed part of how the town was expanded to accommodate a new population. It also represented new innovations, like the plough, that was introduced to improve the standard of living for those resident in the Eastern Cape and its surroundings.

The visibility of these two artefacts allowed trade to be analysed utilising a two-part research strategy. The research focused on the trade network that developed in the Eastern Cape and in Grahamstown. The network was split into several distinctive parts, starting from the coastal harbours to Grahamstown and then working from this town to the frontier and the interior, effectively linking the supplier to the consumers.

³ The generic properties of both these artefacts, and the methodology utilised to analyse them, will be discussed later in this chapter

The research also recognised that trade is not devoid of human interactions. By incorporating agency into the research, the social aspects of trade are also investigated (Agbe-Davies & Bauer 2010: 13-14, 18; Sherratt 2010). New products, like the glass and metal merchandise imported into the colony, altered the social standing of those with access to these products. This fact is evident at each of the three sites as the locations enjoyed variable access to the produce arriving in the Cape.

Historical archaeological research has been completed in and around Grahamstown since the early 1980s. The large body of work produced by both local and international researchers is discussed later in this chapter in conjunction with an overview of how historical archaeology has matured as a discipline in southern Africa. This situates the current research project within the framework of the research completed over the past four decades in the Eastern Cape. It also situates the research within the body of work completed on historical archaeology in southern Africa.

Furthermore, the way in which historical archaeologists have incorporated the study of trade, and glass and metal, into their research will also be analysed. The research questions for all three sites are set out in conjunction with the theory applied in this research. The chapter concludes with a summary of the work reported upon in more detail in the following chapters.

1.1 THE LOCATION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE THREE RESEARCH SITES

The area known as the Eastern Provinces of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and the area referred to as the Eastern frontier in the early 19th century now form part of the Eastern Cape Province in South Africa (Figure 1.1). While the whole Eastern province was divided into six separate districts⁴ in the 19th century Albany is of importance to this research due to the location of Grahamstown within this

⁴ The six districts are Albany, Uitenhage, Somerset, Cradock, Graaff-Reinet and Colesberg.

district. Of the six districts Albany was the most isolated. The phrase “600 miles⁵ from Cape Town and 6 000 miles from London” was often used by the Settlers in Grahamstown to emphasize their isolation (Marshall 2008: 124).



Figure 1.1: Map of the Eastern Cape, Situating the Province within South Africa and Southern Africa. (Sleeping Out.co.za).

In the next section the frontier is discussed separately from the history of the three sites. This is done to highlight the fact that the frontier was also an important component of the social, political and economic environment in the Eastern Cape. Figure 1.2 shows the location of the four research sites within a 40 km radius of Grahamstown. The exact location of each site is discussed along with the capsule site histories for each site below.

⁵ There are 1.609 km to 1 mile, placing Albany 965 km from Cape Town and 9654 km from London.

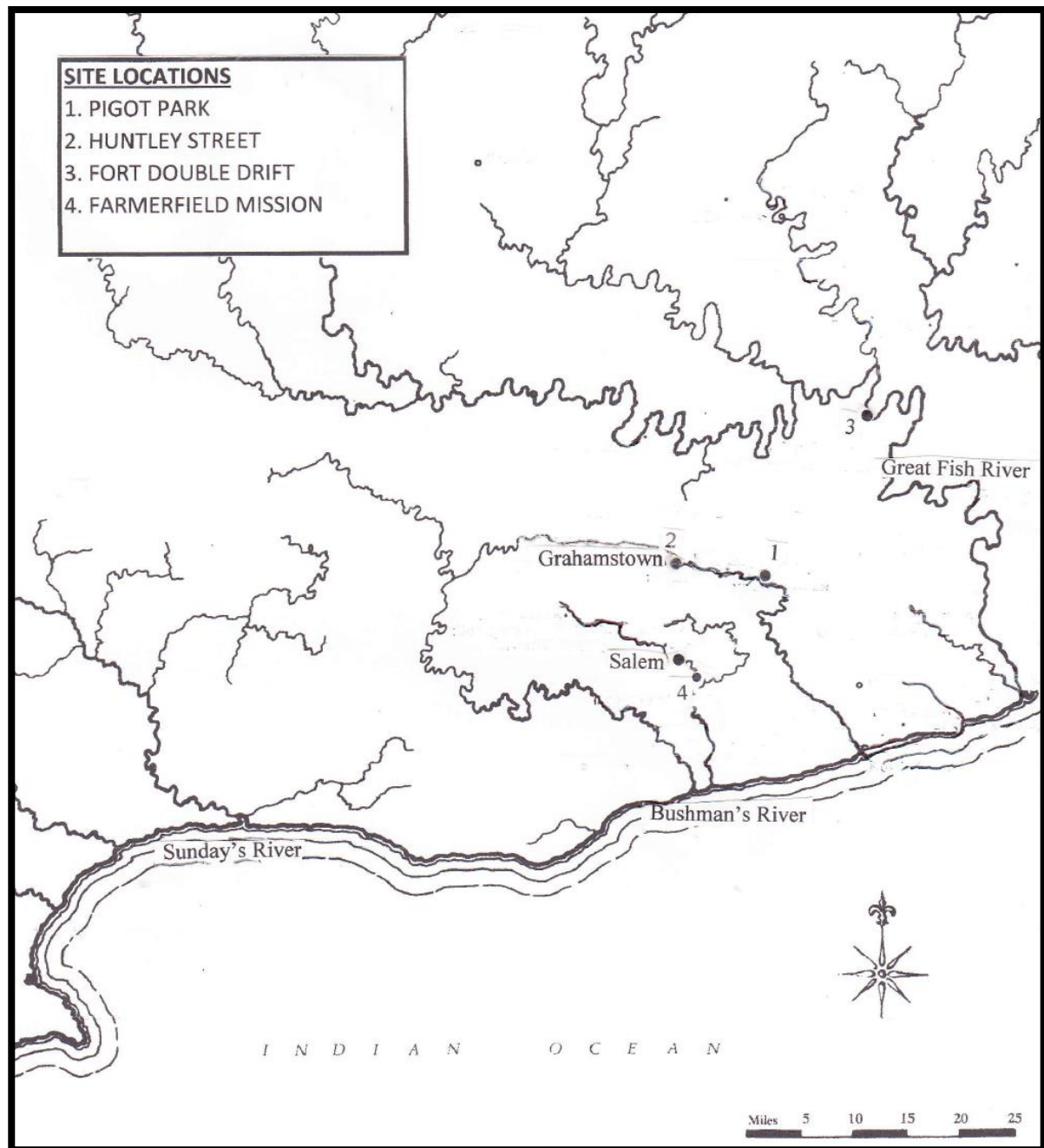


Figure 1.2: Site Location Map with Key (Lewcock 1963:136) (Site Locations and Key Added).

1.1.1 The Eastern Cape and the Frontier

A frontier delineates the point where two opposing groups meet one another. At this point the influence of each of the groups is at its weakest and the groups can openly interact with each other and influence the outcome of these interactions (Lightfoot & Martinez 1995: 473; Russell 2001: 1-2, 13). Of the two groups one is foreign to the area and encroaches on the land and territory belonging to a resident group. The relationship starts as an “open” frontier when the foreign

group arrives and makes contact but ultimately each frontier “closes” when all the groups in the zone are subjected to the same political controls (Thompson & Lamar 1981: 7-8).

Initially archaeological studies were influenced by the colonial perspective of core-periphery relationships. These frontier studies focused on the spread of innovation from the core to the periphery. The people residing on the periphery were viewed as passive recipients of these innovations with no reciprocal influence returning to the core group. Furthermore, it was expected that the boundaries would be sharply defined and that the groups would be easily distinguishable (Crais 1992: 100, 14; Lightfoot & Martinez 1995: 471, 475-476, 487).

Researchers soon realised that the frontiers were not clearly defined. The focus shifted to indigenous-invader colonial relationships and highlighted indigenous resistance to frontier interactions (see Russell 2001). Naum (2010: 106-107) focused on the fact that these meetings on the frontier, whether colonial expansion or a buffer zone, led to conflict between the different cultures. Also, the middle ground was bridged by go-betweens and cultural brokers, like the missionaries and the traders.

Naum (2010: 102-103,126) also highlighted the fact that European historiography defined frontiers as being synonymous with borderlands. The geographical dimension of a border was the most obvious. This real or imaginary border defined the identity of the people on both sides of the boundary. This geographical label ensures that frontiers are “worldwide phenomenon”.

The frontier (Figure 1.3) that developed in the Cape is described by Lester (1998b: 3) as “the first arena in which a British colonial administration came into contact with coherent African polities”. As early as 1807 the first governor of the British colony, the Earl of Caledon, recognised the need to strengthen the “thinly populated 150-mile border” of the Cape Colony (Hockly 1957: 12). The greatest measure of control over the frontier was achieved in 1812, at the end of the Fourth Frontier War, with the expulsion of 20 000 Xhosa across the Fish River. The border

remained in flux, between 1813 and 1819, as evidenced by the Xhosa's repeated attempts to return to their land inside the borders (Bergh & Visagie 1985).



Figure 1.3: Map of the Eastern Frontier of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope Designating the Borders of the Six Districts. (Robson & Oranje 2012: 48).

The frontier in the Eastern Cape was closed by law until 1830. The restrictions emphasized the importance of the frontier and it was breached both illegally before 1830, and legally after 1830 for trade. The frontier shifted six times in the 40-year period under study in this research. The position of the frontier was influenced by British colonial policy, the peace treaties that concluded the Frontier Wars, the repercussions of cattle raiding, and the frontier farmers' demands for more land. It demarcated the border of the Cape Province and was a powerful symbol of where the British control of the Cape Colony ended (Crais 1992: 23; Legassick 1980: 58; Lester 1997: 640 & 1998a: 8; Marks & Atmore 1980: 8; Peires 1981: 51; Russell 2001: 12 and Winer & Deetz 1990: 57).

1.1.2 Huntley Street

In August 1812 Lt-Colonel Graham chose Grahamstown for the site of the Eastern headquarters of the military. The town was established on the loan farm of *De Rietfontein* that originally belonged to Lucas Meyer. In November 1812 the Deputy Landdrost, Major Fraser, and the military commander, Colonel Lyster, were instructed to establish buildings suitable for civilian administration. One of these buildings, the prison, was used by the surveyor, J Knobel, to establish the line of High Street in 1814 (MacLennan 1986: 148).

The old huts used as accommodation for the soldiers were removed from the location of the new street and the soldiers were relocated to the East barracks (Marshall 2008: 16-17). Knobel also laid out the *erfen*⁶ for domestic buildings in relation to the military buildings (Collier 1961: 9; Gledhill 1974: 16; Robson 2011: 2). By May 1815, the first house *erfen* had been sold by public auction. The chief condition of sale was that a “good house should be built upon the proper line for the High Street within 18 months” (Lewcock 1963: 195).

In 1819 the first armed conflict since the War of 1812 erupted in the area surrounding Grahamstown. The Battle of Grahamstown ended on the 22 April 1819 with the defeat of Makana by the British troops. This battle is the only part of Grahamstown’s history that briefly ties to the excavation location in Huntley Street, close to the course of the Cowie Creek. The stream is described in local stories of the battle as running red with the blood of the wounded and dead. As a result of this the area is still referred to by the Xhosa as *Egazini*, the place of blood (MacLennan 1986: 232; Peires 1981: 144).

The Battle of Grahamstown also served to highlight the vulnerability of the town. In 1819 the area was severely underpopulated. Large tracts of land were left unoccupied after the War of 1812 when the Boer farmers were not allowed to return to their farms (Butler 1970b: 2; Noble 1877). The British had also not

⁶ A plot of land marked off for building purposes.

maintained a long-term colony at the Cape since 1806 (Bryer & Hunt 1984: 15; Du Toit 1954: 6; Muller 1981: 25). The British Government's solution to the problem of underpopulation inextricably tied the history of Grahamstown to the history of the 1820 Settlers.

Somerset, the Governor in the Cape at that time, advocated the establishment of a "legal boundary" (Maxwell 1970: 3) in the Zuurveld. This boundary would consist of occupied civilian farms acting as a buffer on the frontier (Beck 2000: 49). Early in 1820, the first 4000 of the 5000 successful applicants arrived in the Cape. They were settled around Albany, between the Sundays and the Fish Rivers. This group now formed the first "vigorous English-speaking community on African soil" (Butler 1970a: vii). However, by 1823 this experiment was viewed as a complete failure as the Settlers left the land and moved to the towns (Lester 1997: 643).

In 1850 Thomas Baines painted the panoramic view of Grahamstown from Fort Selwyn (Figure 1.4). Although Cosser (1992: 56) cautions that this painting is an idealised view of Grahamstown; as it excluded the indigenous dwellings present on the outskirts of Grahamstown at the time; it shows how the town had continued to expand since 1823. Reverend Thornley Smith describes the town ca 1850:

From a military fort of the very humblest character, the town has gradually extended and increased, until it has become equal in size and respectability to some of the smaller towns of England, having a population of six or seven thousand souls, and commanding a trade in the produce of the country of the most flourishing and valuable description.



Figure 1.4: Painting of Graham's Town from the Selwyn Battery, Jan 17, 1850 (painting by Thomas Baines in the Albany Museum, Grahamstown).

After 1860 Grahamstown lost its military importance. The headquarters of the military was removed from the town in 1864 (Collier 1961: 58). The economic prosperity and importance of the town ended at the same time forcing the residents to change their priorities and Grahamstown settled into a new role as a sheep farming community.

In 1984 the Grahamstown municipality uncovered an archaeological deposit while digging a deep trench for a water reticulation project (Simon Hall 2014: personal communication; Jeppson 2005). This discovery was reported to the staff of the Albany Museum in the town. The deposit formed the urban component of Jeppson's research. The location of the site, close to the banks of the Cowie Creek, made it difficult to link the location to the rest of the town. The closest street name was utilised as a designator for the location of the excavations. The street in question, Huntley Street, is located one block south of High Street, the main road in the town (Figure 1.5).

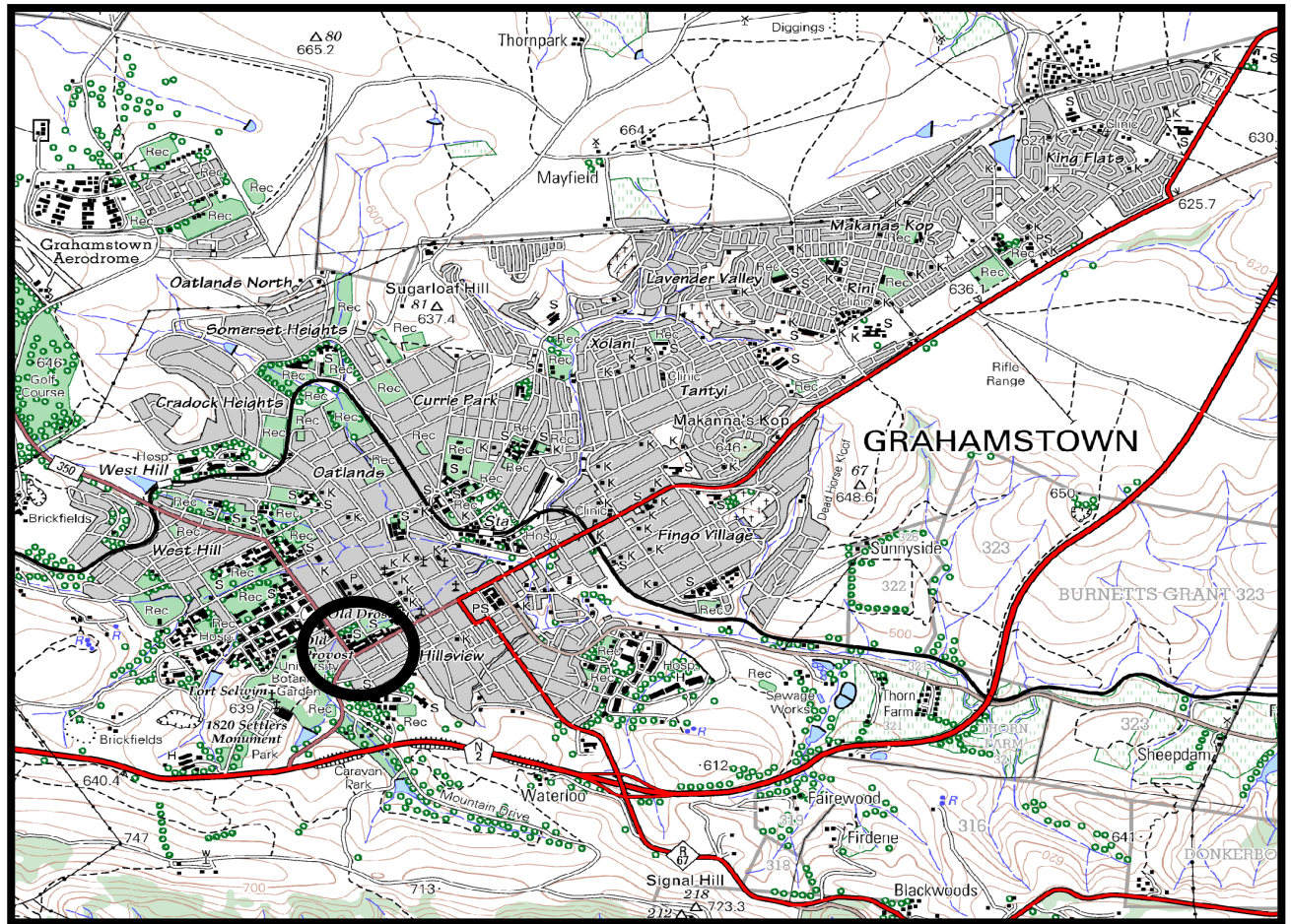


Figure 1.5: Location of Huntley Street Site in Grahamstown (3326 BC Grahamstown Quadrant Map) (oval Added at Huntley Street⁷).

1.1.3 Farmerfield

Methodism gained a large following in Britain during the Industrial Revolution. The church's strong work ethic and religious teachings resonated with the growing middle-class workforce, a group of people coming to terms with the industrialisation of industry and wage labour (Beidelman 1982: 10-11; Comaroff & Comaroff 1991: 47, 66; Winer 1994: 101). The Methodists were however late entrants into the field of missionary work, only expanding the church's portfolio into missionary work in 1813 (Galbraith 1963: 88).

Due to this late transition, when the first Wesleyan Methodist missionaries arrived at the Cape the Governor was reticent to upset the balance already in place

⁷ Co-ordinates for Huntley Street in Jeppson's (2005) research-33°18'S and 26°31'E (the co-ordinates come out in Dulverton Road).

between the other religious denominations. The Wesleyans were therefore restricted to the town, to preach to the Settlers and Dutch residents. The Wesleyan church was able to compensate for these restrictions by establishing mission stations in the countryside (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991: 48; Du Plessis 1965: 165; Groves 1948: 203).

One of the Wesleyan ministers, Reverend William Shaw, forms the focus of this research due to his involvement with Farmerfield. This Wesleyan cleric arrived in southern Africa as part of the Sephton Party of settlers; the group which established the town of Salem. In 1838 William Shaw's parishioners approached him to enquire if the church would be prepared to purchase land on their behalf. Shaw's journal entry focuses on these interactions:

In the year 1838 there arose a strong desire on the part of many of the natives connected with our congregation in Graham's Town, to leave that place, and go to some of the settlements, where they would have the privilege of keeping cattle, and possess more extended lands for cultivation than they could obtain in town... But at that period the Colonial government could not make up its mind to any decided course of action for securing the legal rights to building and garden lots for the natives of our congregation (Shaw 1872: 34, Book 2).

In 1839 Reverend William Shaw (1872: 35) entered negotiations to purchase the farm *Klipheuwel* from Cornelius Schalkwyk. This farm, renamed the Farmerfield⁸ Mission Station, was located 25 km south of Grahamstown and 6.5 km south east of the town of Salem (Figure 1.6) along a meander in the Assegai River. The date the mission was established is significant in that the church waited until slaves were emancipated, and the post-slavery apprenticeship had ended in 1838, to establish the mission (Hewson 1981: 2; Jeppson 2005: 11, 151-152, 166; Shaw 1872: 32).

⁸ Co-ordinates for Farmerfield in Jeppson's (2005) research-33°29'31''S 26°32'51''E.

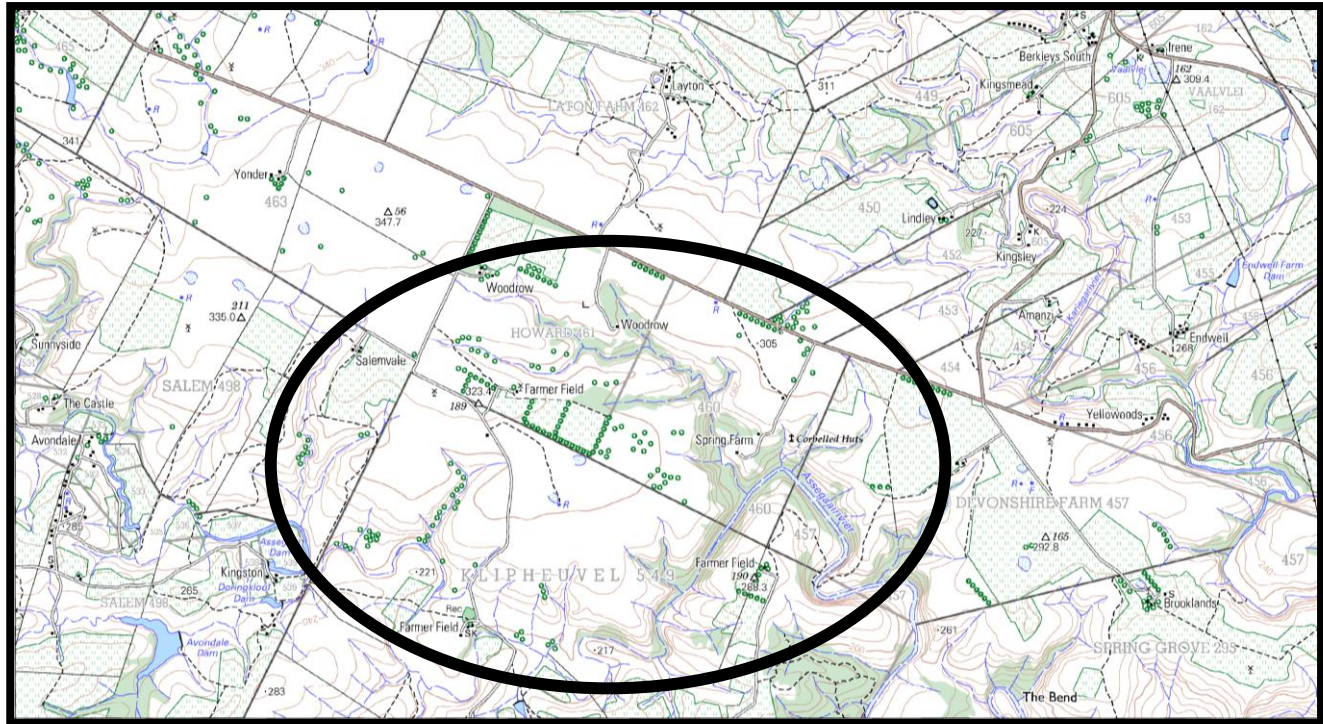


Figure 1.6: Location of Farmerfield (3326BC Grahamstown Quadrant Map) (Oval Added at Farmerfield).

The farm's 6000 acres were divided into four separate living areas, with a fifth area allocated as communal pasturage for grazing⁹. Plots of land were rented out at a fixed yearly rate of one-pound sterling. This entitled the renter to build a home, plant crops and utilise the communal grazing (Sadler 1967: 118). During the excavations Jeppson (2005: 11) compiled a map of the mission based on the oral testimony of current and former residents. This map (Figure 1.7) shows the location of the four hamlets in relation to *Middel Plaas* and the chapel. *Middel Plaas* is prominent in the foreground and the chapel is visible from all four hamlets (Vernal 2009: 418).

*Emakhobokeni*¹⁰ housed the emancipated slaves, freed indentured slaves and Prized Negroes. The name Prized Negro was given to slaves confiscated from ships in British waters after the abolition of slavery. These tenants formed part of the original Cape slave population, imported to the Cape from the Indian Ocean basin region, Madagascar, Mozambique and Angola. *Endulini*¹¹ housed the Xhosa speakers, the descendants of a Nguni-speaking, farmer herder society. *Elisutho*¹² housed the Sotho, Basotho and Bechuana (BaTswana) immigrants and *Middel Plaas*¹³ was the residence of the missionary family and the location for the chapel, school and manager's house (Backhouse 1844: 305; Hewson 1981: 2; Jeppson 2005: 11, 152, 156, 162-163, 166; Sadler 1967: 118; Shaw 1872: 32, 37).

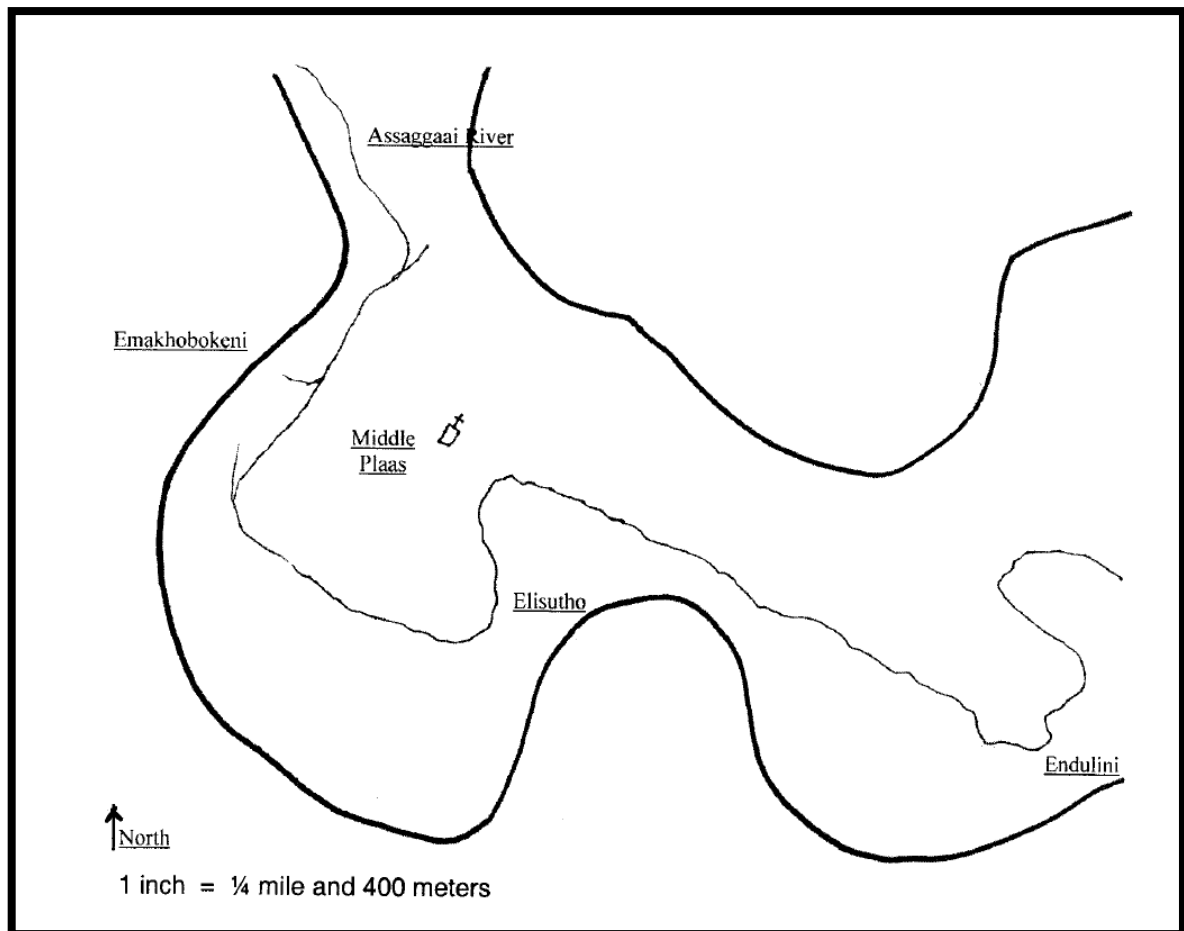


Figure 1.7: Map of the Four Hamlets Drawn by Patrice Jeppson from Oral Testimony (Jeppson 2005: 162).

In the minutes from the church's meetings it is possible to trace more information on the population of Farmerfield:

We have here 63 families all industriously employed according to the laws of the Institution in the different pursuits of this rising establishment. The population consists of 296¹⁴ [sic] individuals of whom 63 are males' resident as heads of families have been servants [sic], 68 are female, 81 are Girls, and 78 are Boys. They possess 935 horned Cattle, 106 Goats, 232 Sheep, and 10 Horses... They have during the Year enclosed and cultivated 148 Acres of rich land, which has produced 24 Muids of Wheat, 6 Muids of Barley, 218 Muids of Indian Corn

⁹ Refer to Addendum C for a copy of the residence application each resident needed to sign.

¹⁰ The Xhosa word for "the place where slaves once lived".

¹¹ A Xhosa word translating as "Stoney Hamlet".

¹² A Xhosa word for "Sotho".

¹³ Afrikaans words for "Middle Farm".

¹⁴ While the total is listed as "296 individuals" the numbers add up to 290. The total of 296 is accepted as the correct figure.

besides Potatoes, Onions, Peas, Beans and almost every garden vegetable the quantities of which could not be ascertained. Among the people settled here we have 3 Couriers, 5 Wagon Drivers, Gardiner, 2 Masons, Shoemaker and 1 Thatcher... (Cory Library-MS 15.023/2).

At Farmerfield the work of God is delightfully going forward. The Sabbath Congregation comprises from 280 to 300 persons of various tribes who listen with great attention to the word.

Some of the residents have erected very substantial houses which exhibit every appearance of neatness and order and are quite equal in points of comfort and cleanliness to the more respectable labouring classes in England... (Cory Library-MS 15.023/3).

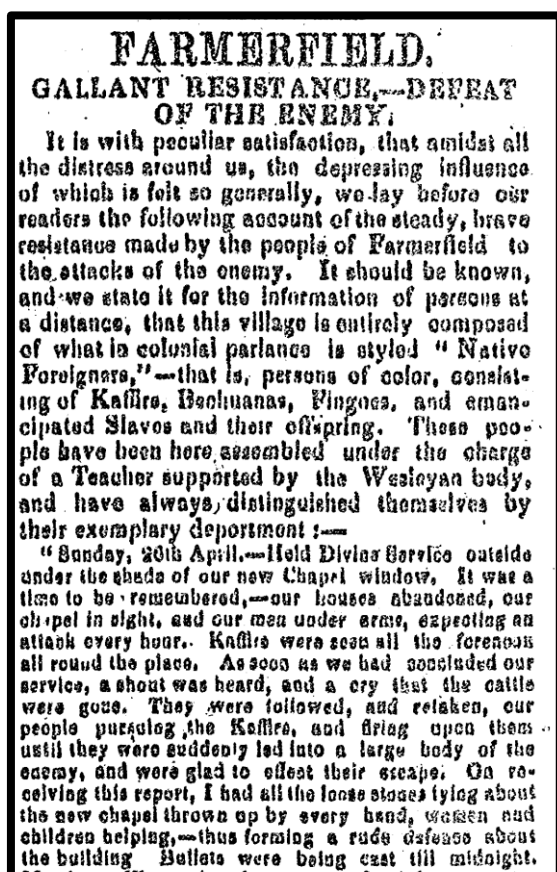


Figure 1.8: Newspaper Article on Farmerfield (The Graham's Town Journal 2 May 1846).

In 1846 the inhabitants of the mission were praised for their actions while protecting the mission from invasion (Figure 1.8). It is evident that the residents were not afraid to pursue stolen cattle or close ranks at the chapel to protect all the mission residents. Reverend Thornley Smith (1850: 207) also describes the confrontations at Farmerfield:

During the recent war this settlement... suffered severely from the incursions and attacks of the Kaffir hordes. The inhabitants were under the necessity of leaving their dwellings and forming an encampment under the wall of the new chapel; while the chapel itself furnished an asylum for Mr Roberts and his family, together with the women and the children belonging to the station...

...several very numerous and powerful parties of Kaffirs came upon the village at different times and succeeded in sweeping off the greater portion of the cattle, thus

reducing the inhabitants to great poverty and distress...The enemy frequently sent messages, saying it was their intention to destroy the Station; and that the people of their nation must come and join them; lest they should fall in the conflict.

Eight years later the Wesleyan church published an article on the creation of the mission in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* of December 1847. The changes accomplished at the mission during this short period of time are clearly visible in the drawing of the mission that accompanied the article (Figure 1.9). The drawing depicts an idyllic setting, prominently showing the chapel in the foreground with the ordered rows of rectangular buildings visible behind the church.

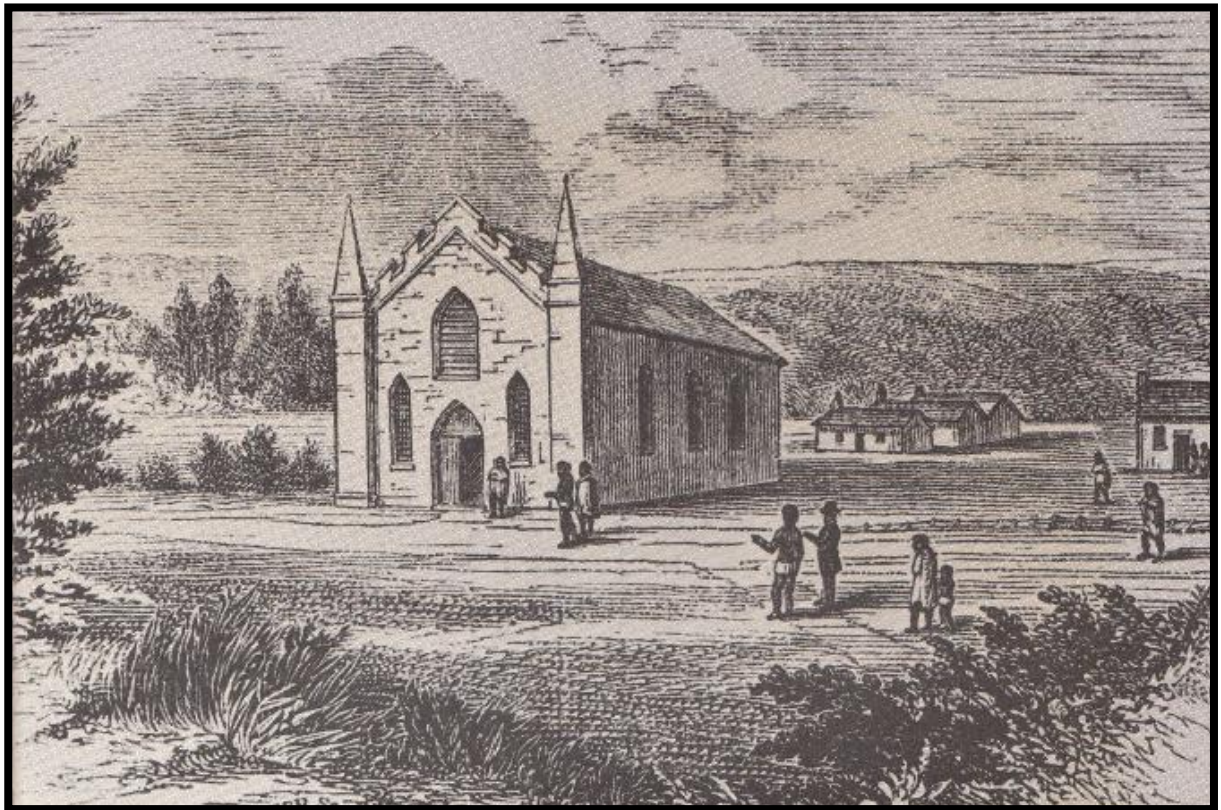


Figure 1.9: Farmerfield Wesleyan Mission Station (Original-Wesleyan Missionary Notices for December 1847 (reproduced in *Never a Young Man* (Sadler 1967: 80-81).

Archbishop Merriman's journal entry describes his visit to Farmerfield in 1850 (reproduced in Varley & Matthew (1957: 124-125). This record reflects how the people had adapted to the new living conditions 11 years after the mission's creation:

August 17th: He quitted us for Bathurst; and I rejoined him two or three days after at Southwell, from whence we rode, first, to the Wesleyan Mission station at Farmerfield, where the people, having notice of our coming, had assembled at their chapel-door, expecting

the Bishop to address them. I never saw a more interesting set of natives together than here. There are about five hundred people on the station, small and great, partly Fingoes, partly Kaffirs, partly Bechuanas, all very nicely clothed and decent looking. There is a great deal of land under cultivation here, and between twenty and thirty wagons on the station; and the natives bring in so much firewood, poultry, and other things to the market at Graham's Town, as materially to lower our prices there.

The size of the farm remained unchanged until the land was split up in the 1960s. The political changes in South Africa led to the upheaval and removal of many people. Those removed from their land were relocated closer to the original areas of *Elisutho* and *Middel Plaas*. The remaining Farmerfield residents were relocated to the Ciskei Homeland in 1962. The property was divided and renamed and now makes up the successful farms of Glenfield and Mayfield (Hewson 1981). The Wesleyan church was however able to retain ownership of the portion of land on which the church and school stand. A portion of the original farm land has also been returned to the original farm residents and additional land claims are still under litigation (Ntsikelela Norris Zatu 2014: personal communication).

1.1.4 Fort Double Drift

Fort Double Drift¹⁵ (Figure 1.10) is in the Great Fish Nature Reserve about 40 km north-east of Grahamstown. The fort lies on the border of the old Andries Vosloo Kudu Reserve and the Double Drift Nature Reserve. These two reserves, along with the Double Drift Kudu Reserve, were amalgamated into the Great Fish River Reserve.

In the early 19th century the fort's location intersected with important communication routes and crossing points and was situated on a well-known wagon route between Grahamstown and British Kaffraria (Coetzee 1994: 253, 260; Jeppson 2005: 9, 140 & Winer & Deetz 1990: 57). Fort Double Drift can also be situated in terms of other posts, signal towers and military fortifications in the Eastern Cape. The closest fortifications to Fort Double Drift are Fort Willshire

¹⁵ 33°05'24''S and 26°46'31''E, on the 3326BB Breakfast Vlei Quadrant Map (Jeppson 2005:140).

The first fortification, known as Double Drift, was constructed early in 1835 to protect a pontoon crossing over the Great Fish River. This temporary fortification, a “small earthen star fort” was equipped with a “3-pounder mountain gun” and garrisoned by “eight men who shared a wattle and daub hut and had the comfort of a cookhouse of rubble walls and thatched roof” (Coetzee 1994: 260, Hudson 1852, MacLennan 1986: 131).

During the building phase after the Sixth Frontier war (between 1834 and 1836), Lieutenant Colonel G. Lewis, the Commanding Officer of the Royal Engineers at the Cape, was tasked with increasing the levels of security at existing fortifications on the eastern frontier. A large part of his plans also focused on the protection of the drifts, improving roads and erecting signal towers. Of significance to this research is his work on the Lewis Line of fortifications constructed over this period. It was during this time that Fort Double Drift was changed into a permanent fortification (Gledhill 2011).

The purpose of this fortification scheme was to erect a series of strongly fortified barracks and forts at Trompetter’s Drift, Fort Brown, Botha’s Post, Post Retief, Fort Armstrong and Fort Double Drift (Robson 2011: 61,223; Robson & Oranje 2012: 60-61 and Tomlinson 2006: 44). An excerpt from Selwyn’s report on the *Return of New Works Projected and Under Construction for the Eastern Frontier*¹⁶ (reproduced in Coetzee 1994: 268) explains the alterations to Fort Double Drift in 1837 and 1838 and the resulting staffing changes:

By early 1837 a reconstructed Double Drift fort complex consisted of a partly completed square stone redoubt of 125x150 feet, containing a picket tower, a men’s room, a cook room, and officer’s kitchen, officer’s quarters, Mounted Men’s quarters, a commissariat store, a bakery and stables. In the course of the year barracks were added to contain thirty infantry [sic] and fifteen cavalry. By April 1838 Royal Engineer Selwyn reported that the redoubt for two sergeants and

¹⁶ Cape Archive Depository CO 48/149

twenty Rank and File and stabling of brick was nearly completed. The picket tower, the same as that of Fort Brown, also had accommodation for ten men and a storeroom and cellar which serve as the powder magazine.

Royal Engineer Williams' also inspected the post (Coetzee 1994: 260):

In August Royal Engineer Williams inspected the new post and found it "tolerably secure." It had a good gate and the parapets were completed. The ditch was too shallow and required deepening, but because of a rocky substratum, this could only be done by blasting. Captain Selwyn of Grahamstown would arrange for some Sappers as soon as the detachment of Sappers and Miners arrived from Port Elizabeth. The abatis which surrounded the work at the usual distance of 50 yards and extending to the river was nearly completed. Within the redoubt he marked out the site for a N.C. Officer and eight men and also a smaller one to serve as accommodation for an officer or as a guardhouse. The officer and the guard of nine men were each provided with a tent inside the redoubt.

Despite all the modifications to Fort Double Drift, and the fact that the fort was continually garrisoned between 1836 and 1853, this fort has no history of direct involvement in the armed conflict occurring on the border (Jeppson 2005: 143). Fort Double Drift was important because of its location. Scott (1973: 190) relates one of the instances where the location of the double drift in the river was also instrumental in the clearing of the frontier in 1812:

All the farms between Kaffir Drift and Double Drift had been cleared of cattle and abandoned. He had ordered Gualana Post to send back its stores and its women and children at once and in the event of an emergency, the garrison was to retire immediately. Because the Xhosa had penetrated beyond Fort Wilshire, he had withdrawn one of his companies to Double Drift and also had been successful in sending 40 of the Hottentot Levy to Hermanuskraal.

The fort became, in the words of D'Urban "the main and only certain communication in the centre to the Fort Wilshire depot, fifteen miles eastwards and further into hostile territory" (Coetzee 1994: 260). Fort Double Drift would eventually lose its military importance after the War of the Axe and The War of Mlanjeni. In 1848 the abandoned posts of Double Drift, Botha's Post and Committee's Drift were offered for rental (Figure 1.12). The ownership of the fort was transferred to the Colonial Government in 1861 and the fort was declared an abandoned post in 1869 (Coetzee 1994: 268).

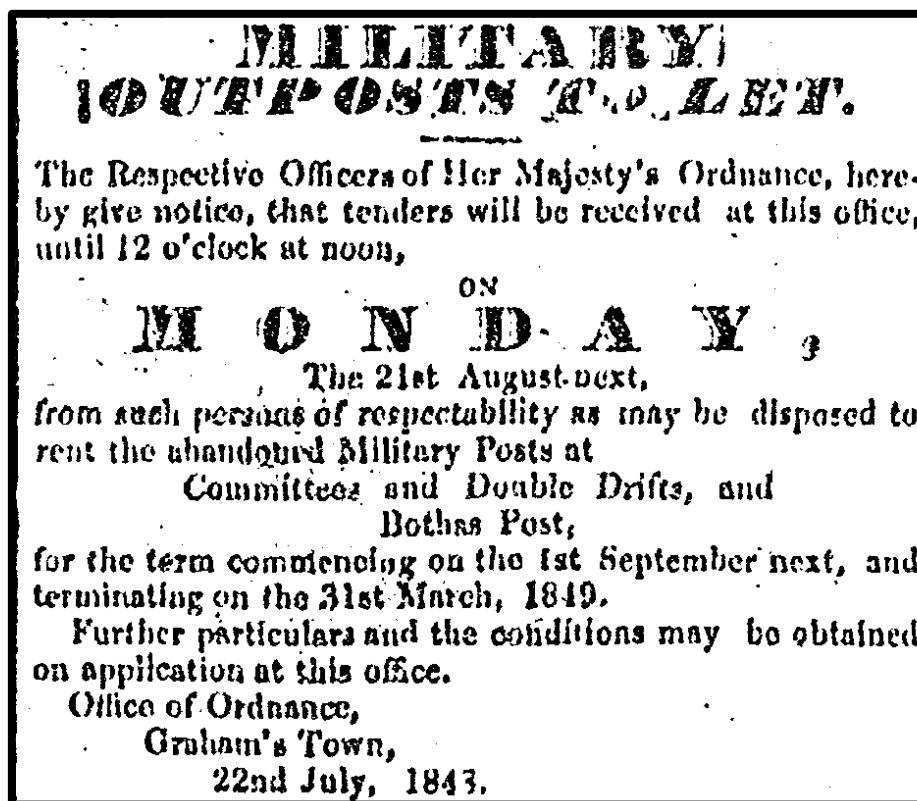


Figure 1.12: Advertisement to Rent the Abandoned Military Fortifications at Committee's Drift, Double Drift or Botha's Post (*The Graham's Town Journal* 29 July 1848).

1.2 PAST HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE EASTERN CAPE

Historical archaeology is mostly associated with countries that were subject to European colonization (Connah 2007: 35). The discipline initially studied the movement of people under colonialism. These studies focused on the movements of people, on a forced or voluntary basis under colonial rule. As a result of this African archaeology was often described as having been "given a European voice"

(Walz 2006: 48). In southern African contexts historical archaeology was labelled 'Cape Town style' archaeology (Behrens & Swanepoel 2008: 62).

A global definition of historical archaeology characterised the discipline as the study of the modern world as a single economy that is colonial, international and expanding (Behrens & Swanepoel 2008; Orser 1996). Connah (2007: 35) believed that historical archaeology can be useful to Africa but that its place in the discipline still needs to be adequately defined. African archaeology is working towards finding an appropriate definition for the discipline on the African continent.

As historical archaeology developed in southern Africa the researchers focused on improving the methodology applied in historical archaeological research (Orser 2004). The renewed efforts focused on developing the histories of people without writing and it also worked towards rewriting the history of indigenous communities that were misrepresented by "outsiders, be they agents of colonialism, or the academy" (Schmidt & Walz 2007: 54). This methodology applied postcolonial theory to the analysis of material culture at historical archaeological sites (Gilchrist 2005: 331). It also incorporated oral tradition and indigenous memory into the analysis. These factors enabled archaeologists to construct alternative histories of Africa free from colonialism (Murray 2004, Reid & Lane 2004, Schmidt 2006 and Schmidt & Walz 2007).

This research focuses on the impact of trade on the social standing and economy of the various groups in the Cape Colony. The scope of this literature review will draw from the large body of research completed in the Eastern Cape. It will include approaches to understanding the changing roles of the various population groups at the Cape. By recognising the variable access to the economy that glass, and metal offered the people of Grahamstown it is possible to provide a record of how different population groups adapted to the changing environment in the Eastern Cape. The two artefacts were also routinely incorporated into the daily lives of the various population groups at Farmerfield, Fort Double Drift and Huntley Street.

1.2.1 The Historical Models

The history of southern Africa has been extensively covered by several authors (Bryer & Hunter 1984; Butler 1970a; Collier 1961; Cory 1926; Elphick & Giliomee 1986; MacLennan 1986 and Ross 1993). The history of Grahamstown has however remained largely focused on the 1820 Settlers. Settler history in Winer's (1994: 4) words was "a powerful and loaded symbol of the British contribution to the culture, tradition and society of South Africa."

The focus areas within this historical genre have also shifted markedly over time from one extreme to the other. The first researchers focused on the perception that the Settlers were an inexperienced, innocent group of immigrants that must "take root or die" (Butler 1970a), what Winer (1994: 4) referred to as the "folklore of Settler hardship." These were the people who formed part of a "tiny community, transplanted from its native soil, which nonetheless clings, not only to survival but also to the traditions of its forefathers" (Dugmore 1990: vii).

The work then shifted to focus on the theme of survival. Research highlighted the creation of a "new England on African shores" and how Settlers "found solidarity with each other through a shared struggle in a hostile land" (Lester 1998a: 516; Marshall 2008: 161). Work also highlighted the collapse of the social hierarchy in the Settler community (Bryer & Hunt 1984; Lester 1998a). Bryer and Hunt (1984: 26, 44) referred to emigration as the "great leveller" because those who arrived with no financial means of support appeared to adjust quicker to their new surroundings than the gentleman leaders of the various parties.

As empathy for the Settler struggle started to wane the final school of thought introduced the argument of "land-hunger" (Bryer & Hunt 1984: 24) and "warmongering" (Galbraith 1963: 42; Marshall 2008: 15). This moniker reflected the apparent willingness of Settlers to perpetuate the hostility within the Eastern Cape to keep the army in place, so they could continue earning revenue from the British military.

The diaries and journals of the travellers provide a counterpoint to this body of work. Hall (2000: 10) describes his reticence over the contributions that the travellers can make to the documentary record in the following way:

I feel ambivalent towards them and their texts, at once acknowledging them as fellow travellers, but also recognising them as the enthusiastic agents of oppressive regimes.

These records regaled prospective immigrants in Europe into making the journey to southern Africa themselves. While the accounts were stories of bravery in the face of hardship the records also displayed a sense of naivety and bias as the travellers wrote of local customs they observed during their journey (Bunbury 1848; Centlivres Chase 1967; Cole 1852; Methuen 1846; Moodie 1835).

As this research focuses on a 40-year period in the early 19th century the history of the Settlers cannot be mitigated or ignored in this research. Yet the history of the Eastern Cape is more than the history of the travellers and the Settlers. The history also includes the Frontier Wars, the history of the Xhosa and the Eastern Cape's involvement in the Great Trek. The full history of Grahamstown is essential to situate these areas within the landscape of the Eastern Cape. By focusing on the material culture from these three sites it does however become possible to extend the analysis beyond a narrow retelling of the history of Grahamstown.

1.2.2 Architecture as a Form of Identity and Resistance

Architectural studies formed the basis of two significant archaeological research projects (Scott 1987; Winer & Deetz 1990 and Winer 1994). Winer's (1994) work in Salem focused on how the landscape of the town had changed from the original land grant. Salem was an isolated Settler village and Winer felt the "voices and actions of individuals provide a rich resource of analysis". Winer (1994: 14) also discusses the fact that architecture was used to reinforce Englishness and the architecture was a form of "visual pruning" and only reflected what the builder wanted you to see.

Scott (1987: 1) focused on the inside of the homes. By studying the material culture of the homes, she looks behind the “architectural façade”. The outside structures are anonymous but by studying the material culture of the homes these spaces are personalised. In contrast to the conclusions of Winer (1994) and Scott and Deetz (1990), Payne (1998: 8) feels that the architecture was nothing more than “the cosmetic adaptations of British colonists to their new surroundings”.

Two authors also focused on the town. In these books the architecture is contrasted to the beauty of the landscape and the authors’ love of the town. Randell’s (1980) book, *Grahamstown Magic*, is a personal look at Grahamstown. The sketches are lovingly rendered by the author in memory of a friend who also loved Grahamstown. The book is set out like a guided tour of the author’s favourite routes. These routes are clearly highlighted in annotated maps for walking tours. All the sketches correspond to the recorded routes so that if you choose not to take the walking tour you can still appreciate the snippets of the town visible in the sketches.

Reynolds and Reynolds’ (1974) book, *Grahamstown from Cottage to Villa* focuses on the homes in the town. As the title indicates the book starts with the smallest homes in the town and progresses exponentially to the larger more elaborate homes. The book highlights specific premises with unusual architectural features and interior designs. The stories are personalised with anecdotal commentary on the families that lived in the highlighted homes.

The size of the physical structures was a determining factor for their inclusion in this architectural research. These buildings were larger than the remnants of material culture that traders would leave behind. These studies do however lay the groundwork for the research completed in this project. By looking at the way in which the landscape was altered through the architecture it can give one a clear indication of how the population groups may have adjusted to the smaller more portable changes that imported products could offer.

1.2.3 The Influence of North American Researchers on Eastern Cape Historical Research

In the 1980s historical archaeology had developed into a strong discipline in North America. North American historical archaeologists, like Deetz (1991), began to advocate for the need to study historical archaeology on a global scale. Between 1988 and 1991 Deetz (1990 & 1991), Scott (1987 & 1990) and Winer (1994) extended their research to include southern Africa.

Their work, as part of The Eastern Cape Historical Archaeology Project, was centred around Salem and Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape. As both these towns were Settler towns the group could utilise their colonial character to draw comparisons between the Eastern Cape and similar colonial areas in the eastern United States. The historical archaeologists also wanted to understand how European expansion impacted the landscape and the indigenous people resident in the area affected by this change (see Burgarin 2002).

Deetz (1991:3) used a comparative perspective to hold culture (form) and time constant while highlighting how European culture was embraced in distinctly different ways in the two different locations. He attributed the differences between the locations to the fact that the Settlers in the Eastern Cape had returned to an agrarian lifestyle and were unaffected by industrialisation. In contrast to this the early 19th- Century American culture was impacted by industrialisation.

Furthermore, as seen in Section 1.2.2. above Scott's (1987) research examined the material culture of "domestic dwellings". By focusing on the contents of the homes it is possible to highlight the culture of the occupants who lived in the various homes in the town. Scott (1987:164, 257) felt that although domestic culture was "elusive" the analysis could highlight the depth of English cultural influence at the Cape. She felt that the inhabitants brought their culture with them to the Cape.

Winer (1994:1, 7, 12) completed her research at The Hall, a Settler home in Salem. Her analysis of the "British colonial experience" on the "scale of a single village",

and the structuralist analysis of house forms in Salem, enabled Winer to understand the cognitive processes employed by the builders. Winer's (1994) research at The Hall also introduced the mnemonic labels for four architectural phases: The architecture of coping, the architecture of identity, the architecture of affluence and the architecture of fear.

Jeppson (2005) and Bugarin (2002) continued the work started by this research group. Jeppson (2005: 1) utilised the ceramics from her sites to research identity and explain the nature and role of material culture in frontier social dynamics. This research highlighted how mass-produced commodities, like ceramics, could still be symbols of social interaction. Her work showed that consumers were not "passive consumers of European technology" and that the ceramics became "Eastern Cape colonised by being used and thought about in distinctively Eastern Cape ways" (Jeppson 2005: 28).

Bugarin's (2002: 153-154, 193) work at Fort Wilshire showed how trade goods could radiate out from a central location and how the indigenous community was indirectly linked to the global trade network through their trade with the British. Bugarin's (2002:33) focused on what indigenous trades routes looked like prior to European contact. She also looked at whether indigenous or local products were introduced into the colonial market and whether they imported produce was incorporated into the indigenous group. These focal points enabled Bugarin to draw conclusions as to whether European products had become a new form of currency in the colony and whether these products supplanted local produce.

The body of work completed by these researchers has laid a solid groundwork for historical archaeology in the Eastern Cape. The group felt that to understand the impact that the Europeans had on indigenous groups archaeologists had to understand the colonial process and the Europeans involved (see also Winder and Deetz 1990). The hypothesis had always been that the indigenous Xhosa community relinquished its autonomy to the colonial authority once they started to trade. The researcher highlighted that trade can be decolonialised and that all

the groups adapted in their own unique way to the changing environment in the Eastern Cape.

1.2.4 Mission Studies - Historical and Archaeological

The role of missions in southern Africa is often negatively perceived in South Africa today. The research undertaken on missions has changed considerably over the past few decades. The bias in favour of the missionaries is evident in the initial research completed. This work appeared in favour of their endeavours and defended their tenuous position in a foreign land (Etherington 1976; Fountain 1969; Graham 1998). The studies also largely focused on the mission stations situated on the frontier (Fast 1991).

Graham (1998: 29) also felt that despite the “complex treatments of native responses” Christianity could still be viewed as “a colonial package and the native responses as the forces that unwrap, disassemble, and re-sort the package’s contents”. Williams (1985) focused on the perceived notion that as the number of mission stations increased this was often viewed as an indication of the success of Christianity. In her research she focuses on the fact that this was not the case at Farmerfield and that the acceptance of Christianity among the Xhosa was directly related to the decline of the relationship between the colonists and the Xhosa.

The unique location of Farmerfield, near two Settler towns engendered a large body of work (see Hewson 1981; Hammond-Tooke 1972; Shaw 1872; Vernal 2009) on William Shaw’s “experiment in social rehabilitation” (Hewson 1981). While Hammond-Tooke (1972) focused solely on Shaw, Shaw’s (1872) diary highlights how the mission started and looks at the Wesleyan religion from the perspective of a Wesleyan minister.

Material culture should not be interpreted as evidence of the acceptance or rejection of Christianity (see Graham 1998). The introduction of new materials is not a sign of acceptance of the missionaries’ way of life. This research can move beyond the mission’s creator and the people who wrote and studied the mission.

It shows that trade was not under the sole control of the missionary and trade inside mission stations was more diverse than initially anticipated.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

One cannot understand historical material until one knows the questions to be asked, and more particularly the questions that a scholar has asked in order to produce his or her own work... Collingwood (quoted in Leone 2010: 11).

The research questions for the three research sites are formulated to investigate how material culture, like the glass and metal excavated from the sites, is incorporated into the social and economic landscape of the Eastern Cape and the Eastern frontier.

1.3.1 Huntley Street

As Huntley Street could not be identified conclusively as the town dump, or the back lot of a property bordering on High Street, it was not possible to categorically link the glass and metal artefact assemblages found there to a specific population group in the town. In her research Jeppson (2005) viewed the Huntley Street site as a town dump and felt that even though the primary context of the site was disturbed the assemblage could be utilised to provide a discrete provenance for the artefacts found at the site. These conclusions could then be extrapolated to the main commercial street running one block parallel to the site.

In this research the questions focus on issues of trade and commerce within the town. The research questions revolved around glass and metal preferences, distribution methods and expected costs. The first question investigated whether the excavated material could be extrapolated back to the materials ordered by the people of Grahamstown. The second question focused on whether there were any trends in the imported material and whether there was a dearth or surplus of certain items. In both cases the isolation of the town and the transport system were used as mitigating factors in the analysis of the glass and metal found at Huntley Street.

1.3.2 Farmerfield

When the missionaries first arrived in the Cape Colony their primary goal was religious conversion (Vernal 2009: 421). However, as the missionaries settled on the mission stations, and attempted to integrate into their new surroundings, isolation from their parent church forced the missionaries to relax their rigid religious aims in favour of education and training.

These coping mechanisms, introduced to deal with the unique situations they encountered, led the missionaries to trade. Beck (1989: 211, 213) felt that the missionaries did not accept their role as traders willingly. The choice was removed from their control because their parent church was unable to provide adequate funds to cover all the missionaries' living expenses and the expenses required to run the station.

Because these economic repercussions influenced the daily routine at the mission the research questions formulated for Farmerfield focused on the financial stability of the mission station and its residents. The research utilises the itemised budgets in the mission's ledgers to investigate the economic successes and failures of the mission. Furthermore, the questions focused on whether there were any similarities or differences in the materials found at each hamlet and whether these highlighted social distinctions between the mission hamlets. These questions enabled conclusions to be drawn as to whether specific hamlets had closer contact with the missionaries or more involvement in the economy of Salem and Grahamstown.

1.3.3 Fort Double Drift

The research questions formulated for Fort Double Drift were influenced by the fact that the fort was constructed to protect a strategic location along the frontier. Firstly, due to the isolated location of the fortification the research focused on whether the military regiments stationed at this fortification were involved in formal or informal trade and barter transactions with the farmers and locals near the site.

Secondly, research looked at whether the material remains at the site reflected the personal habits of the British troops or whether there was evidence of material culture not indicative of the British army. The final question focuses on whether British military posts were, as Winer (1994: 21) suggests, “both inadequate and too costly for British purposes” and whether evidence of cost cutting would reflect in the material culture.

Before the role of glass and metal in trade is discussed in Chapter 2, and the analyses of the two artefact classes are set out in the individual site chapters (Chapter 3-5), the next section will highlight how glass and metal are incorporated into historical archaeology and what methodology was applied to the analysis of the glass and metal in this research.

1.4 GLASS AND METAL IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Glass and metal are ubiquitous items in historical archaeological sites and are used to explore a wide range of issues. Archaeologists use the information from these two artefact classes to investigate questions about trade, economics and social stratification. Archaeologists initially concentrated on the “physical remains” of the glass containers. By touching the glass and identifying the various features on the bottle or container, the researchers were able to determine the possible bottle contents and the date and place of manufacture.

It was also understood that the general appearance of glass containers was heavily influenced by consumers preference. The glass also represented a “concept” that the manufacturers strove to sell. This included the prospect of wealth, luxury, health and nostalgia (Jones 1975: 1-3). Furthermore, Staski (1984: 38) highlighted the socio-economic uses of bottle glass analysis and felt that historical archaeologists can formulate interesting questions relating to the information they obtained from the formal bottle characteristics.

Glass terminology also hampered analysis. The terminology utilised by glass manufacturers and glass merchants were often vastly different from the terms applied by archaeologists (see Malan 2009). These differences were not only

applicable to the contents of the container but also to the names used for different bottle parts. Streamlining this terminology vastly improved the accuracy of glass analysis (see White 2000). Other studies focused on the correlation between sample sizes and accurate identification, recycling and bottle reuse and the use of certain glass, like window glass, to accurately date archaeological sites.

Busch (1987) research focused on reuse and the second-hand bottle trade that developed in New York. This work showed that empty bottles were valuable in two ways. Glass bottles had “chattel value” in the inventories assembled for estates. The glass was also the legal property of the bottler and the customers were expected to return them for refilling. These factors influenced the analysis that could be carried out at a site where reuse was visible. There would be an extended time lag between the manufacture date and the discard date. Jones and Smith (1985) further emphasized that glass reuse was also a socio-economic factor and was often necessary at certain locations.

Schoen’s (1990) work on window glass created a tentative chronology that could be applied to various thicknesses of this type of material. The research also recognised that the different thicknesses would affect the accurate analysis of window glass in archaeological sites. Lockhart and Olszewski (1994) excavated a bottle pit behind a general store known as Garcia House in San Elizario. Of the 250 bottles excavated, none were intact. This indicated that the bottles had been deliberately moved from the store to the pit. A significant result of this research was that the authors tested the hypothesis regarding sample sizes. Both felt that the larger the sample, the more accurate the result would be. Their work did however indicate that smaller sample sizes could offer accurate results that could be linked effectively to documentary records.

Researchers also used glass to highlight social problems. Bonasera and Raymer (2001) analysed the medicinal glass found at the Five Points borough in New York. This study utilizes a large assemblage of medicinal vessels and archaeobotanical remains to examine the reality of disease in the Sixth ward. The research evaluated the choices made by the residents. Apart from income and

socio-economic factors that influenced consumers' choices the research showed that two distinct types of medicine were chosen. The ethical medicines were dispensed by the medical professional, like physicians and apothecaries, while proprietary medicines were purchased in a more informal setting or in secret.

Metal is also used by historical archaeologists to answer similar questions to those applied to the glass. Metal is however a completely different class of material and places restrictions on the analyses that can be completed using this material. Aside from nails, metal is difficult to date without chemical analysis. In sharp contrast to this, glass can be dated by sight by interpreting manufacturing technology.

Harrison's (2002) investigated the post-contact metal artefacts found in the Aboriginal pastoral workers' compound at the Old Lamboo Station in Western Australia. While this type of research could provide information about the contact period, the study highlighted how difficult it is to interpret the importance attached to the metal by the indigenes. When the metal was modified it was unclear whether these modifications were done to highlight belonging or whether the indigenes were pandering to western ideas. When the metal was unmodified it was not possible to say whether the item had been adopted for indigenous use.

The metal excavated at Fort Bowie was described and catalogued by Herskowitz (1978 & 1979). This research now provides a catalogue from which to identify metal found at other historical archaeological sites. These artefacts are still a resource even though the assemblage at Fort Bowie was disturbed. Baugher-Perlin (1978) completed similar work on the Prall site. The researcher advocated improved, more complete typologies for both glass and metal that could be applied to 19th- and 20th-century sites.

As nail manufacturing processes are well documented, nails have been utilised to date the metal assemblages found in archaeological sites. Wells (1998) created the Louisiana Nail Chronology. The 12 nail forms that are part of this chronology have been used to date nails in American sites. This typology has, however, been successfully adapted to African and European sites and has provided a template

from which to create new typologies specific to these regions. In the next section the methodology applied to the glass and metal in this research is discussed.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY APPLIED TO THE GLASS AND METAL

In southern Africa an export market for wine developed in the beginning of the 19th century. Glass bottles were one form of containerisation used to transport wine. However, as the wine industry was still in its infancy during the period under study, and the bottles used for the wine were imported into the Cape Colony, the export market will not form part of this research. The research will only focus on the glass entering the Eastern Cape and the Cape Colony.

Analysing glass manufactured in the early 19th century is influenced by several factors. The most significant factor in southern Africa is the fact that glass was not locally produced in the country until the end of the 19th century¹⁷. Also, due to the large British population resident in the Cape Colony most of the glass found in historical archaeological sites is of European, mostly British, origin (Lastovica and Lastovica 1982: 7, 9, 24, Lawrence 2006: 370). Furthermore, the limited manufacturing techniques available for glass manufacture at the beginning of the 19th century resulted in bottling companies having a limited quantity of bottle forms to choose from.

While the body shape of each bottle is one of the most expedient ways to identify the function of the bottle with a high degree of accuracy (personal observations), this was not feasible at the three sites as the glass assemblages did not yield many bottle body fragments. Although there is also a correlation between the circumference of the base and the bottle's contents (Herskowitz 1978) there was only a small quantity of complete bases excavated (n=15). For these reasons the research focused more on the bottle finishes to provide information on the contents of the bottles or containers.

¹⁷ The earliest southern Africa glass company was the South African Glass Company Limited that traded between 1879 and 1886 (Lastovica & Lastovica (1982: 7 & 21).

The contents are important as choice played an important part in consumer trade. However due to the limited manufacturing forms available the number of finish types is also limited. It is not possible to tie a single finish form to only one beverage type (Lockhart & Olszewski 1994: 43). To counteract the overlap, where each finish represents variable contents, a broad analysis was completed. Every possible permutation for each finish type is considered during the analysis.

The window glass was dated using Schoen's (1990) chronology for nineteenth century glass. The flat window glass is separated into two different thicknesses for dating. The year 1845 formed the benchmark to separate thin flat glass from the thicker flat glass that was produced after this date. Most of the glass at all three sites is this thinner glass, allowing the glass to be tentatively dated to the 40-year period under study in this research.

A minimum number of vessels count (MNV) was also completed for the glass at each site and at important loci within each site. The counts take the following format: there are six columns of figures. The two columns headed base and finish fragments represent diagnostic fragments that are large enough to identify as a specific vessel while the two columns headed lip/rim diagnostic fragments or base diagnostic fragments represent fragments large enough to be identified as either a base or a finish but too small to identify to a specific vessel. Also, while there is little consensus on the efficacy of utilising colour as a diagnostic tool (Jones et al 1989; Lindsey 2013e), the undiagnostic glass was included in the MNV counts. The sherds were all totalled by colour and weight.

In the final column of the MNV count the diagnostic neck, shoulder and body fragments were grouped together. Body fragments are defined as those where the heel of the bottle is visible on the body fragment but there is no visible base present. These fragments are normally omitted from a count owing to the risk of counting fragments that belong to the same bottle twice (Herskowitz 1978). In this research the sample size is small, and a decision was taken to include these fragments as the risk of duplication was negligible. Embossed body fragments were also included under this section where no cross-mending was visible.

Recycling and the possible repurposing of glass were also investigated. Items are recycled for three different reasons, reuse for the same function, reuse for a different function and reuse as a raw material (Adams 2002). Recycling is also influenced by the philosophy of “making-do” (Stuart 1993: 20). There are examples of each of these stages at the sites. Recycling in Grahamstown is set out in Chapter 3 with the discussion of the glass and metal from Huntley Street. Examples of glass recycling and requests for empty bottles are evident in the advertisements in *The Graham's Town Journal* (15 May 1852; 3 July 1852).

In the metal analysis it was not possible to differentiate between locally produced metal products and the metal products imported into the colony. Most of the metal could not be dated, except for the nails excavated at the three sites, which could be loosely dated by utilising the manufacturing methods. The artefact assemblage was analysed based on the objects' function. The main categories visible at each of the three sites include: personal and clothing items, household and construction items, clothing items and munitions. The metal working professions, like the blacksmiths, nailers and ironmongers, in the town advertised their services and products to the public. The list of products on offer included items manufactured in the town as well as those items imported into the town.

The Graham's Town Journal was utilised as a major documentary resource for the three sites. These records are a primary resource when investigating how items entered Grahamstown. Jones (1993: 25) refers to newspapers as the “product of growing consumerism” and *The Graham's Town Journal* was no exception. The newspaper promoted the wares and trades in Grahamstown. Where possible the same analytical methodology was applied at all three sites. Any additional analytical methods that were applied at a specific site are discussed under the individual chapter for that site.

1.6 TRADE IN ARCHAEOLOGY

The study of trade in archaeology links the material purchased by the consumer directly to the producer. The purchasing patterns are also different between towns like Grahamstown and large urban communities like the Cape Colony (see Baugher-Perlin 1982). Agbe Davies and Bauer (2010: 13) felt that because archaeology focused on the physical objects excavated it was possible that the discipline would overlook the social aspects that were inherently part of each trade transaction. The focus should also include: how trade operates as a communicative act, the ways in which trade transforms the relationship between people and things, the significance of agency and power in contexts of trade, and how archaeologists use sites of consumption and discard to address issues of exchange and social interaction.

The small farming community of Silcott, south-east of Washington (Adams 1976), was linked to six major trade routes: local, local-commercial, area-commercial, regional, national and international. The analogy that the main street in a town can be linked internationally through the links in a trade network resonates with this research. In Chapter 2, the trade network that linked Grahamstown to the harbour at Cape Town and Port Elizabeth will be highlighted. The emphasis is also placed on Grahamstown as the centre of the trade network between the harbours and the frontier.

Riordan and Adams (1985) also fitted the sites in Mississippi Washington into the national market by emphasizing the fact that historical artefacts are rarely manufactured close to their place of consumption. This geographical separation enables technology to be separated from function when analysing trade goods, a beneficial practice when studying trade in an area like the Eastern Cape which provided a constant market for British manufactured goods.

Agbe Davies and Bauer (2010: 14) also acknowledged that “goods are in motion” and that the way goods are viewed by their original owners at the start of the transaction and the way they will be viewed by the consumer at the end of the

transaction are inherently different. Marshall (2008) also looks at Fort Willshire's influence on Grahamstown and believes the fair's success reinstated Grahamstown as central to frontier trade.

Harbours and ports are also important. Rogers (2013) notes that these locations played an integral role in the daily lives of the people linked to the location and the waterfront was a point of interaction between land and sea. Significantly Rogers focused on the British perspective of a harbour versus the local perception of a harbour. It showed how this cultural landscape was important to the British because of the lengthy history this country has with the sea.

Orser (2010) feels that there are many characteristics of capitalism worthy of archaeological analysis. He focused on one significant development, the willingness of archaeologists to study the effects of capitalism on the people involved in trade. Marshall (2008) traced the economic and physical development in Grahamstown. By studying the social and cultural history of Grahamstown he examined the complex divisions in the small community.

Fountain (1969) recognised the difficulty of relating economic activity to the religious methodology at the mission. Recent work has looked past these perceptions of the economy to what information trade at the missions can offer. Jeppson's (2005) separation of the hamlets at Farmerfield enabled the materials at these hamlets to be specifically attributed to the converts staying at that hamlet. Though the focus was on the material culture this did not dehumanise the people at Farmerfield.

Two additional viewpoints that also tie in with a study of trade in the Eastern Cape are propounded by Sherratt (2010) and Kelly (2010). Both researchers look at the role of power and influence in the study of trade. Sherratt (2010) emphasizes that it is not only distance that provides a powerful influence on the imagery evoked by a trade item. It also achieves added potency by perceptions of where the items came from and who brought the item to the colony. In addition to this Kelly (2010) adds that access to these items led to a "manipulation of the

circulation of material culture". This affects the way people interact to obtain these items. By doing this a "social power" is formed during the trade transactions.

Trade research specific to the Eastern Cape includes the work Bugarin (2002) completed at Fort Willshire. Her work focused on "the transformation of indigenous lifeways", the changes to indigenous trade routes before and after British contact. It also looks at the values assigned to indigenous and imported objects. This type of research shifted the focus away from the principal function of Fort Willshire as a fortification to protect the frontier. The focus shifted to the traders, and to a lesser degree the indigenous groups that traded at the fort. By excavating in areas where the traders gathered to await the start of the fair this research also humanises some of the groups involved in the trade fairs at the fort.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study of trade in historical archaeology was initially hampered by the perception that economic topics, like capitalism, are too closely aligned with colonialism. It was feared that this work would only highlight the European contribution to trade and detract from the importance that African nations placed on trade (see Orser 2010). This research understands that trade is not devoid of human interaction. Therefore, while the glass and metal found at the three sites can be viewed as commodities, these artefacts are also emblematic of consumer choices.

Also, the quantity and quality of glass and metal artefacts available for purchase in the Eastern Cape was directly affected by the historical events in the early 19th century. The history of Grahamstown is linked to the British re-occupation of the Cape in 1806, the arrival of the settlers in 1820, the Frontier wars and the way in which these events altered the relationships with the Dutch and indigenous groups already resident in the colony. These moves and countermoves upset the existing status quo in the Eastern Cape. For this reason, agency and structure are utilised as the theoretical paradigm to study the role of trade in Grahamstown, and to assess how two commodities, the glass and metal, found in the Eastern

Cape enabled population groups to manipulate the landscape and regain a measure of control.

Structuralism postulates that people in a collective sense, share an innate tendency to order the world in regular ways (Hall 2000: 44). Gardner (2008) felt that structure reduced people to “passive cultural pawns”. Also, Sewell (1992: 2-4) cautions that structural language explains how life is a system of ordered patterns but does not explain how these patterns changed over time. For this reason, structure is not impervious to agency. Humans are knowledgeable and can put “structurally formed capacities to work in creative or innovative ways.” If people are prepared to innovate, their actions can “transform the very structures that gave them the capacity to act” (see also Orser 2010).

Agency is seen by Hall (2000: 9) as being triply inscribed. Firstly, there is the original actor whose words, action and materials create the archaeological record. Secondly there are the witnesses to these acts. Thirdly there are those that interpret the material and documentary remains in the archaeological record (see also Hall & Silliman 2006). Dobres and Robb (2005: 159) felt that archaeologists viewed the study of agency as self-evident and hardly worthy of discussion and that “while many of us now feel comfortable (or even compelled) to talk about agency in the past, few of us are explicit about how we are “doing” agency”.

Historical archaeology initially equated agency with resistance. Dornan (2003: 304, 319) felt that “even the most mundane and everyday action can be imbued with a sense of resistance to those who hope to maintain a status quo of social inequality.” He felt that at its heart agency was a “basic agreement that people are not uniform automatons.”

Dornan (2002) also highlights the work of Shanks and Tilley to include a collective action in the notion of agency. This allows for the fact that class and gender also have an impact on identity and resistance. Paterson’s (2003: 58) work at the Strangeways Springs Station in Australia focused on how the Aboriginal people at the station applied agency to the artefacts that were used at the station. He found that historical and archaeological evidence provides different insights into

contact-period agency and viewed the number of artefact categories present as an indication of adaptation and agency.

He also established that he could not highlight the actions of the individuals archaeologically, but he could isolate individual acts. This need for stability is visible in the conscious choices made by the Settlers to try to create a “little England” (Scott & Deetz 1990: 76) in the Cape Colony. Agency is visible in the way the Settlers incorporated signs of their “Englishness” into their new environment.

One of the aspects of agency is power, the trade-off between “freedom and resistance” (Gardner 2008: 96). Two forms of resistance are evident in the Eastern Cape. The group dynamic of the various Settler parties broke down as workers in the parties broke away from party leaders and prospered while the affluent Settlers fell on hard times (Marshall 2008: 21; Scott & Deetz 1990: 88). The indigenes also resisted the loss of land and freedom.

This resistance also highlights the fact that agency is affected by “humanity and relationships” (Gardner 2008: 96). Doonan and Bauer (2010: 187, 190,192) aptly describe the “human relationships that constitute trade” as “fickle” and warn that if the “social dimensions” in the transactions are ignored you will lose the “richness and subtlety of human action” in these actions. These decisions influence the choices made about trade items and provide insight into the meanings allocated to these items (see also Kelly 2010: 99).

This chapter has introduced the research area, research questions and theoretical methodology. The next chapter (Chapter 2) discusses trade as a research parameter and explains the various parts of the trade network. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 follow a similar format. These three chapters focus on the glass and metal artefact analyses at Huntley Street, Farmerfield and Fort Double Drift respectively. The chapters are separated into sections based on the typology of the glass and the metal artefacts before conclusions are drawn. In Chapter 6 an intra- and inter-site analysis of the three research sites is presented. In Chapter 7 conclusions are

synthesised and interpretations are offered. Possible directions for further research are also highlighted.

After the references several appendices are also included to supplement the information in the various chapters. The appendices are a summary of the full line of fortifications erected in the Eastern Cape, a breakdown of the occupations practised in Grahamstown, a copy of the residence application signed by all people who came to live at Farmerfield, the nomenclature utilised in this research for both glass and nails, a chart of all the glass colours found at the sites with corresponding Munsell references and an appendix summarising the unidentified glass by site.

2 CHAPTER 2: THE EASTERN CAPE AS A TRADE ZONE

“The District of Albany must unquestionably be regarded more as a trading station than as an agricultural or pastoral country. It is to commerce alone that it is indebted for its existence at the present day...” ... The Graham's Town Journal, 1834.

“But finally, always, when the initial shock waves of recognition receded, it became time for business” ... Schrire 1995: 51.

While the Eastern province received merchandise on a regular basis from the Cape Colony, the district of Albany was still sufficiently isolated to ensure that the trade network that developed in the interior would be part of a unique inter-related series of networks. The act of trade brought the population groups of Grahamstown into direct contact with each other and ensured that the role of the town developed beyond that of a military headquarters into a strong mercantile frontier town.

The population of the town also significantly influenced the trade network that developed in the town. When the town was established the population in the town was made up largely of military personnel and the local Xhosa and Dutch farmers. The population of the town changed when the Settlers could leave their farms and settle in the town after 1823. The new population effectively became the consumers of a wide variety of merchandise that arrived in the town.

Furthermore, the socio-economic impact of these transactions led to the establishment of a secondary infrastructure in the town. The people that formed part of this infrastructure were essentially the service industry of Grahamstown. This group of people ranged from the hotel owners and canteen owners to the blacksmiths and farriers (Erlank 1995: 64). In this research the act of trade is humanised by extending the focus past the practice of supply and demand. The people involved in the transactions are highlighted in conjunction with the produce. The focus shifted to how consumer goods were actively used in “social and individual self-creation” (Olsen 2010: 32).

From the onset of this research it was evident that it would not be possible to incorporate the full trade network, which originated in Europe and terminated in the Cape Colony, into this research. The size of the project is beyond the scope of this research. To keep the research parameters for the glass and metal on a similar footing the manufacturing process prior to shipping was omitted from this research. The variances were deemed negligible. Although it is possible to trace both raw materials and manufactured metal back to the manufacturers, it is not possible to definitively trace early 19th-century glass back to the glass factory.

This analysis starts from the point at which the merchandise arrived in the Cape Colony (Riordan & Adams 1985). By starting when the vessels arrived at the harbours in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth it is possible to access the strength of the shipping industry in the colony and to highlight how the colony coped with delays in the arrival of merchandise.

Grahamstown is designated as the centre of the trade network. The town is located midway between the coast and the frontier. The town was ideally located and had access to merchandise arriving from the coast and exports en route to the harbours. From Grahamstown the trade network is traced to the surrounding towns and culminates on the frontier where the scope of this research ends. Fort Willshire will form the extent of the boundary in this research and the fort influenced trade at Fort Double Drift.

Also, as the British slowly took control over trade in the Cape Colony and on the Eastern frontier, the image of the trader changed to mirror the new laws of the colony. This chapter will highlight both the primary and secondary infrastructure that developed in Grahamstown and it shows how the merchants in the town were dependent on accurate information about their expected cargo to enable them to work around the delays and maintain their businesses.

2.1 THE TRADE NETWORK FROM THE HARBOURS TO GRAHAMSTOWN

The topography along the coastline in southern Africa influenced the development of the shipping industry in the Cape Colony. The rivers dropped down from the plateau to the coastline and could only be navigated beyond a short distance inland. In addition to this there were few natural harbours along the coastline (Beck 1987: 20). These factors ensured that the harbour at the Cape maintained its strong position as the principal port well into the 19th century.


The average shipping time from England to Cape Town varied anything from nine weeks to three months (Galbraith 1963). All the merchandise, passengers and mail were carried almost exclusively by British vessels. Once the merchandise was offloaded from the vessels it entered the trade network for the first time. This section focused on the strength of the shipping industry and how the merchandise was transported from the coast to Grahamstown.

2.1.1 The Strength of the Shipping Industry and Transportation to Grahamstown

As the demand for merchandise increased the transactions highlighted the need for a second harbour. The new harbour was built in 1830 at Port Elizabeth. It was linked to the main harbour in the Cape Colony by coaster vessels that took seven days to make the journey from Cape Town to Port Elizabeth harbour and other ports like Algoa Bay, Mossel Bay and the mouth of the Knysna River (Lamar & Thompson 1981: 15). Merchandise could now be transported directly from Port Elizabeth to towns in the interior. This reduced the time it took for goods to be transported over land to Grahamstown and resulted in the town's resurgence as an important centre for trade.

The strength of the shipping industry is visible in *The Graham's Town Journal*. *Shipping Intelligence* records were published in the newspaper on a weekly basis. These records listed a wide variety of vessels entering and leaving both Cape Town and Port Elizabeth harbours well into the 1850s. The vessels included barks,

Steam Direct
BETWEEN
CAPE TOWN, PORT ELIZABETH,
AND
NATAL.



THE splendid Steamer "**MADAGASCAR**," G. HARRIS, expected here from Natal and East London about the 27th instant, will on discharge of her inward cargo, take freight and passengers for Mowee Bay and Cape Town. Early application is necessary. For further particulars apply to
A. WAILES & Co. Agents.
 Port Elizabeth Jan. 10, 1857.

Rates of Freight and Passage :
 Freight per ton, — at current rates.
 Passage to Mowee Bay, Cabin, . . . 24 4 0
 Do. " " Steerage, . . . 2 2 0
 Do. to Cape Town, Cabin, . . . 6 0 0
 Do. " " Steerage, . . . 3 5 0

All goods for shipment must be sent to the Port Elizabeth Hoisting Company's Stores.

Figure 2.1: Advertisement for the Steamer that Travelled Between Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Natal (*The Graham's Town Journal* (24 January 1857)).

brigs and schooners. As the technology improved the transit time between Europe and Africa was reduced. These improvements were embraced by agents at the Cape. This is visible in an advertisement published on the 24 January 1857 that promotes the freight rates for a "splendid steamer", the fastest vessel between Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Natal (Figure 2.1).

The shipping industry was stable in the Cape colony in the early 19th century. A total of five advertisements relating to shipwrecks were found during an analysis of 29 years' worth of issues for *The Graham's Town Journal*. The shipwrecks happened in 1831, 1832, 1855 and 1859. It appears that the cargo that washed up on shore was often

sold at auction. On 30 December 1831 the ex-schooner *Emma* was wrecked in Port Elizabeth. On 10 February 1832 the *Shipping Intelligence* record highlights the damage to two vessels, the *L'Adolphe Fanny* and the *Santa Antonia*. On 27 January 1855 Mr Charles Pote had the right to sell off the cargo from the barque *Flora* and on 26 March 1859 G. Wood and J.C. Hoole warned people against removing cargo that washed up from the ship *Briseis*, as they had purchased the residue of the cargo for sale (Figure 2.2).

WRECK.

Mr. Charles Pote

WILL SELL by AUCTION on **MONDAY NEXT, JANUARY 27th** instant,
In front of the "Golden Lion,"

ALL that remains from the Selling Off a portion of the **CARGO** of the Wrecked Barque **FLORA**.—Also a few other Goods on account of whom it may concern to close under consignments.

One case 50 ps. 6-4 colored cabing cloths and French trills
One case gent's

READY-MADE CLOTHING, of a superior make.

One bale Hollands and grass cloths
One bale Welsh flannels
One case wide prints
One bale of Shirts

One case of Gent's white Longcloth


SUPPLIES

Of a Superior Description.

Regatta Shirts—merino ditto
100 Fancy Dresses—Derry Robes
Bed Quilts and toilet covers
2 Bells of rich Velvet Pile Carpet
800 Umbrellas
Hosiery, Hosiery, &c.,
Blucher Boots,
Handsome Work-boxes—Writing Desks,
Fancy glass boxes
Plated Fruit Stands, &c. &c. &c.

Sale to commence at 11 o'clock.

C. POTE.



Wrecked Ship
"BRISSETS."

THE Undersigned having purchased the residue of the **CARGO** and the Right of all such that have washed, or may washed up, anywhere on the Coast, hereby caution all Persons from removing or appropriating any of the same, and all parties rescuing it will be handsomely rewarded;

G. Wood, Jun.
J. C. Hoole.

Grahamstown,
26th March, 1859.

Shipping Intelligence.

ARRIVAL IN ALGOA BAY,

April 5 h. "Corambia," Steamer, J. P. Robles bound for Sydney.

SAILED FROM ALGOA BAY.

5th. "Maid of Mona," for Table Bay.

VESSELS IN THE BAY.

Barks—George, and John Craig.
Brigs—Bromleys, Apame, and Comet.
Schooners—Olivia, Mary Ann, Agenoria, and Corambia.

(From Silberbauer's Shipping List, of the 5th instant.)

The French barque L'Adolphe Fauny, which put into Table Bay on the 11th ult, in distress, has been found to have sustained so much damage, as to have been abandoned, and the hull and stores will be sold this day by public auction.

WRECK OF A SLAVER. Simon's Town, 31st March. On the night of the 26th inst., the brig Santo Antonio detached on her voyage from Alguire to Ambria of H. M. S. Partridge and sent here for adjudication, was driven on shore in the centre of Chapman's Bay near Haul's Bay, and has become a total wreck; she had no cargo, but farinha, rice, and beans for provisioning slaves.

Figure 2.2: Advertisements with Information about Shipwrecks in The Graham's Town Journal
a) 27 January 1855; b) 26 March 1859; c) 10 February 1832.

While the *Shipping Intelligence* records are comprehensive in terms of arrival time and departure times for vessels, and the type of vessel, the records do not provide complete lists of the cargoes. Between 1831 and 1860 a single *Shipping Intelligence*

record was found where the cargo of the vessel was included in the report. The advertisement dated 26 April 1851 lists a full record of the cargo for two vessels, the *Spy*, captained by J. Draper and under the agents W. & J. Smith & Co and the *Ariel*, captained by G Collier with A Jarvis as an agent. This advertisement lists the recipients of the cargo and their order. This shows that there were detailed records available to the shipyards regarding where the merchandise should be delivered.

The information from the *Shipping Intelligence* records are supplemented by referring to the advertisements placed by the individual store owners in Grahamstown. The merchants included the vessel's name in their advertisements. In the next section a synopsis of the glass and metal advertisements from *The Graham's Town Journal* will highlight the detailed information available in these records.

2.1.2 Supplementing the Cargo Manifests-A Record of the Glass and Metal Arriving at the Harbours

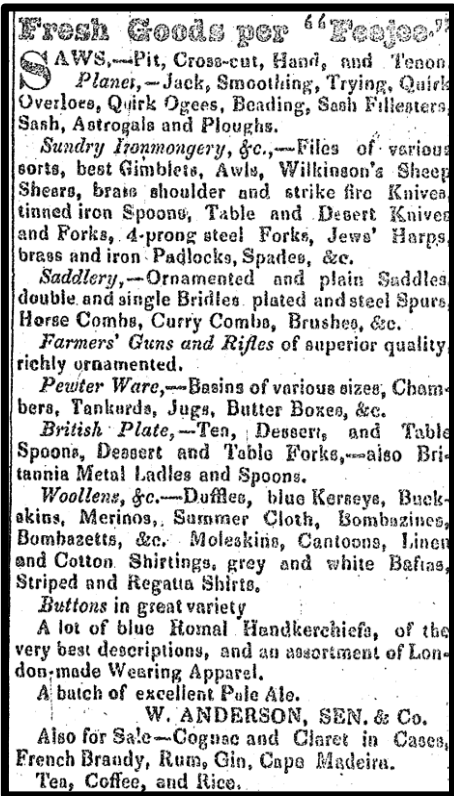



Figure 2.3: Advertisement for General Dealers Depicting their Varied Inventory (*The Graham's Town Journal* 20 July 1842).

Table 2.1 summarises the first 10 years of advertisements from *The Graham's Town Journal*. In Figure 2.3 two advertisements from the general dealers are also included. It is evident from both the table, and the advertisements, that store owners were not able to specialise in a specific type of merchandise during the first few years of the town's existence. The stores took on the role of general dealers and stocked a diverse list of merchandise for their consumers.

Table 2.1: Examples of the Diverse Selection of Merchandise Stocked in the Stores in Grahamstown between 1831 and 1840.

<u>GTJ Date</u>	<u>Vessel Name and Type</u>	<u>Recipient of Goods</u>	<u>Cargo</u>
23 February 1832	Emma	Not Clear	20 boxes of window glass 7-9, 10-8, 10-12, 14-3, 10 cases of linseed oil in 3 gallons..Iron casements, with latches and hinges complete, 100 kegs of nails adapted carpenter's uses, screws...1 case of pocket knives..black handled knives and forks.
6 December 1832	Hopeful	Not Clear	..an extensive supply of goods adapted for frontier trade...Iron Wire...Window glass 10x9 12x2.
6 Dec 1832	Mary /St Helena	Thos Nelson	Broad and falling axes and hatchets, brass wire and buttons...chests black and small chests, gunpowder...shot...offered for sale at reduced prices, at long credits
4 April 1833	Salus	C & H Maynard	Bar iron assorted...roofing...glass...currants, pickles, mustard, salad oil..beads, buttons, and brass wire, for the Interior trade are also expected,
11 April 1833	Salus	Thomson Brothers & Co	From London, by the undersigned, Ashby's celebrated pale ale...super point pocket knives, ball buttons and brass wire
1 August 1833	Mona	W.R. Thompson	Lace pearl and wire buttons...ivory handled kives and forks...shot, coarse gunpowder, saddlers' tacks, flat candlesticks, metal spoons, 7-9 window glass...Also superior dry Pontac and Madeira Wine, Cape brandy, Lettersteadt's Ale...
8 August 1833	Maria	C & H Maynard	Bar iron and lead...tin in half boxes, window glass, spades of two sizes, bottled ale and porter...superfine and medium quality black blue and olive bottle..In Ironmongery-Padlocks, axes, frying pans ..In glassware-shot glasses...custard cups, glasses and liquor frames, chimney ornaments, hall lamps... A supply of beads and buttons have been received.
7 October 1833	Gulina/George/Mary/Desame	John Norton	..selected purposely for the Frontier trade, which from the superior quality and cheapness of the articles, will deserve the attention of the dealers and others..Looking glasses..Castor and other oils...Ironmongery, brass wire, ball buttons..French brandy and gin of a superior quality...Champagne and other Wines, Ale and Porter in bottles.
7 October 1833	Gulina	Thomson Brothers & Co	..Patent shot, window glass of all sizes..Glassware...Eau de Cologne, snuff boxes, pickles, mustard and salad oil, anchovies and ketchup
7 October 1833	Mary/Eliza Jane	Thomson Brothers & Co	Hollands gin, French brandy, bottled porter and Cape wine and a few barrels of Stockholm tar.
5 December 1833	Conch and Knysna	?	In Ironmongery-Iron rim locks, from 8 to 9 inches, stock locks, cheat and cupboard do, drawer knobs, brass buttons, flooring brads, wrought do clasp, rose-head and fine clout nails, mason's trowels..shot of all sizes..knives and forks, superior penknives, scissors..knife, fork and spoon...dram bottles, tinderboxes...Pontac, Cape Madeira, Cape Ale
30 January 1834	Kate		..tin and iron tacks, locks of all descriptions...butt hinges, padlocks
27 February 1834	Mary/Kate	W.R. Thompson	Peppermint cordial, Pontac and Cape Madeira Wines, Cape Brandy, French do, Jamaica Rum, Geneva, Lettersted's Pale Ale...Window glass, hinges
5 June 1834	Test	Thomson Brothers & Co	Dutch knives, white-handle knives & forks, pocket & pen knives, razors,iron pots, bolt & bar iron hoops
23 October 1834	Favorite	G & H Maynard	Beads, brass wire, buttons, knives, tinder boxes, iron pots, 3 to 5 gals, each..nails, spades
3 July 1835	Elizabeth and Mary	Robert Wise Holiday & Co	..Also best English vinegar, turmeric..spirit of Hartshorn and a variety of medicines worthy the attention of druggists
8 October 1835	Dove	C & H Maynard	..English and Swedish iron, Cognac, brandy, port and sherry wines..small anvils, blacksmith's bellows, scupper, nails, solder &c.
18 August 1836	Margaret	Clark Brothers	..Looking glass..glass-in decanters, wine glasses and tumblers...tables and teaspoons
3 August 1837	Addingham	Mc Kenny & Mandy	..Champagne, Burgundy, Claret, Port, Sherry, Rhenish and Cape Wines, Jamaica Rum, Cape Brandy...case Cognac..English bottled and draught ale and porter, &c.

As the shipping industry improved merchants and dealers had the luxury of being able to specialise in the sale of certain products. While the role of hotels will be discussed in a separate sub-section this section highlights the dedicated wine merchants and ironmongers that advertised in *The Graham's Town Journal* (Table 2.2 and Table 2.3). Figure 2.4 illustrates examples of the specialised licences available in the town and the dedicated wine merchants in the town. Figure 2.5 reflects examples of the specialised metal trades in the town.

W H N S, & Co.

THE "Merry."
THE Undersigned has received a splendid Assortment of
WINE.
 Cape Madeira (light and brown) 1st, 2d and 3d qualities.
 Cape Muscadell, in Wood and Bottles.
 Sweet Pontac, do.
 Dry do. do.
 Hock-Stein, and Stein Hock, do.
 Marsala, in Wood and Bottles.
 Sherry (pale and brown) in do.
 Claret—Burgundy.
 Muscat Frontignan.
 PORT, &c. &c. &c.
SPRITS.
 French Brandy,
 MARTELL'S Superior high flavored do.
 Scheedam Gin, in 1 doz. and 15 Bottle Cases.
 Cherry Brandy, in 1 doz. Cases, &c. &c. &c.
ALSO,
Byass's Ale & Porter,
 Admitted to be the finest Imported.
R.F.N.B. Orders in Town and Country attended to and executed with dispatch in large or other quantities. Any quantity of Bottles purchased
W. KIDSON.

H. McKeown & McKeown,
HAVE for Sale at their Stores, Bathurst-street,
 Light Cape Madeira, superior quality.
 Dark " " "
 Stein Wine, " "
 Fine old Pontac,
 Cape Wine.
 Pale Champaign Cognac in hogsheads, quarter casks, and one doz. cases of superlative quality.
 Dark Cognac in hogsheads,
 Do. " 1 doz. cases,
 Old Cape Brandy,
 Old Jamaica Rum in bottles,
 Do. " " in wood, "
 Gin, in stone bottles, genuine quality, direct from "Bremen," also in cases of 1 doz. and 15 flasks,
 Sherry, in qr. Casks,
 Do. in 3 doz. cases,
 Port wine, in do.
 Clarets,
 Cherry Brandy,
 Byass's Ale and Porter, 4 doz. cases,
 Hobson's Ale and Stout, 3½ " "
 Gaskell's " " 3 "
 Do. " in hogsheads, &c.
 Receiving Ex *Maid of Mona and George,*
 Cape Brandy,
 Cherry Brandy,
 Raspberry do.
 Assorted Liqueurs,
 French Prunes, &c.
 English Porter, in hogsheads.
Also, in Store,
 Direct Teas, Coffee, Sugar, white and brown Rice, Prunes.

J. H. SMITH begs leave to inform the Inhabitants of Graham's Town, and its vicinity, that he has taken out a wholesale Spirit Licence, and has at present for Sale, good old Cape Brandy, do. Madeira, Bottled Ale and Porter, a few hogsheads of Letterstedt's superior Pale Ale; and that he will shortly receive a quantity of Foreign Wines and Spirits, which, together with the above, will be sold at very reduced prices.

Wanted.
A PERSON of Sober Habits, to attend to a Retail Wine and Spirit Business. None need apply except persons of the above description.
W. KIDSON.

Figure 2.4: Advertisements for Specialised Glass Merchants and Licences in *The Graham's Town Journal*.
 a) 1 December 1842, b) 1 December 1842, c) 26 August 1841 and d) 31 March 1842.

Table 2.2: Specialised Glass Advertisements.

GTJ Date	Vessel Name and Type	Recipient of Goods	Not Specified	Location of Recipient	Cargo
10 May 1838	Not Specified	McKenny & Mandy	Not Specified	Not Specified	English Ale and Porter received in cases of 3 and 6 dozen each Also superior cognac, Jamaic rum and whiskey, Cape brandy and wine &c.
4 February 1841	Not Specified	McKenny & Mandy	Not Specified	Not Specified	Claret, pale sherry, gold color do., Harper's port, cherry brandy and a few casks of superior Martill cognac
17 June 1841	Not Specified	George Britton	Not Specified	Not Specified	Ten cases of port (each three dozen)
3 March 1842	Not Specified	Haupt Brothers	Not Specified	Graham's Town	Good Cape wine, 60 per half-pipe of 57 gallons Old Port wine Superior Cape Madeira wine Do. dry Pontac do. Do. sweet Muscadel do. Do. old Stein do. Cognac brandy in 1 doz. Cases Hollands Geneva in 15 flask cases Cape and French brandy Cape of Good Hope liquers Bottled ale and porter All at moderate prices
6 February 1845	Not Specified	W. Kidson	Not Specified	Not Specified	Just arrived: A few dozen real Old Tom from Booths Diatillery. Also a few dozen Royal Champagne Cyder
14 October 1848	Heroine, Blue Bell and other later arrivals Marett & Arbouin	S.D. Mandy	Not Specified	Not Specified	Pale Ale in three dozen cases Bass ale in three dozen cases, pints and quarts Barclay's stout porter in three dozen cases A few casks of plain and cut tumblers and a choice selection of wine
17 February 1849	Charles Carter	Benjamin Hadley	Not Specified	Opposite the court house	Rich cut glass-Decanters, curaffs, eith tumblers to match Wine and Salts in great variety
4 May 1850	Not Specified	W.M. Kensit & Co.	Not Specified	Not Specified	Martel's pale brandy in wood Sazerac's Dark brandy in wood Hennessey's pale in bottle Gin-large and small cases Cherry cordial Ale and porter Cape brandy
31 January 1852	Ada/ Alice Maud/ Ariel	Mandy & Co.	Wine Merchants	Graham's Town	Choice Wines And Spirits & Co Bass Ale, India Ale-In Cases and Pints Barclay's Stout Porter-In Cases and Pints Devonshire Cider-In 8 Dozen Cases Fine Pale Sherry-In Cases/In Hogsheads Inghams Marsala-In Cases Hennessey's Fine Old Pale Brandy-1 Dozens Cases and Casks Superior Rotterdam Gin

<u>GTJ Date</u>	<u>Vessel Name and Type</u>	<u>Recipient of Goods</u>	<u>Not Specified</u>	<u>Location of Recipient</u>	<u>Cargo</u>
3 February 1852	Ada	N.P. Krohn	Not Specified	Not Specified	Sauterne
					Claret in St Estophe
					Medoc and St Julien
					Superior Port Wine
					Red Burgundy
					Hochheimer
					Red Hock
					Champagne, first quality in 1 doz. Cases
					Pale Sherry in qr. Casks/8 dozen cases
					Hennessey's Pale Brandy in qr. Casks
					Martell's Brown and Pale in qr. Casks
					Bass's Pale Ale
					Barclay's Porter
					Also on Hand:-
					Hunt's Port Wine in 1 and 8 doz. Cases
					Schledam Gins
					Cape Sherry and Madeira
					Dry and Sweet Pontac
					Boer's and Cape Brandy
					Wine Corks
10 April 1852	Not Specified	H. O' Donnell	/Spirit Establish	New Street/Next Door to his Grocery	Best Jamaica Rum at 1s. 6d. per bottle
					Best Pale French Brandy 2s 6d. per bottle
					Dark French Brandy 2s per bottle.
					Gin, Whiskey
					Port and Sherry Wine
					Draught Ale (English) at all times on hand
15 May 1852	Corsair's Bride	Mandy & Co.	Wine Merchants	Graham's Town	Hibbert's Ale and Porter (50 Casks, 4 Doz. Each).
5 June 1852	Not Specified	J. Lawrance	Not Specified	Graham's Town	Sweet Muscadell and Pontac, a few Casks of Superior Quality
					Draught Whiskey. Just on hand, a small Batch of the Above, for sale at Reduced Prices.
31 July 1852	Not Specified	Mandy & Co.	Wine Merchants	Graham's Town	Superior Cape Wines
					Fine flavoured Cape Sherry in bottle and wood
					Rough Pontac in bottle and wood
					Sweet Pontac in bottle and wood
					Frontignac in bottle and wood
14 August 1852	Alice Maud	N.P. Krohn	Not Specified	Graham's Town	Bass's Pale Ale
					Barclay's Stout Porter
					Martell's French Brandy
5 March 1853	Regina	N.P. Krohn	Not Specified	Graham's Town	Castor Oil, pints and ½ pints
					Bottled Fruits
					Pickles
					Pickled Onions
19 March 1853	Not Specified	Mandy & Co	Wine Merchants	Graham's Town	Isly Whiskey-Superior quality in quarter casks and in cases of 3 and 1 dozen each
2 April 1853	Despatch	Mandy & Co	Wine Merchants	Graham's Town	Allsop's Pale Ale in Hogsheads
					Rotterdam Gin in red Cases of 15 flasks
					Hennessey's Pale Brandy in qr. Casks & Hhds.
					Hennessey's and Mautt's in 1 & 2 doz cases.
27 August 1853	Equator	S.D. Mandy	Not Specified	Graham's Town	Hunt's Port Wine in quarts and pints.

<u>GTJ Date</u>	<u>Vessel Name and Type</u>	<u>Recipient of Goods</u>	<u>Not Specified</u>	<u>Location of Recipient</u>	<u>Cargo</u>
21 January 1854	Monsoon/Emper or	Benjamin & Marcus	Not Specified	Graham's Town	Large and General Assortment of Crockery and Glassware
20 January 1855	Silver Cloud	James Black & Co	Not Specified	Not Specified	Pickled Salmon, pickled Mackerel
3 March 1855	Not Specified	S.D. Mandy	Not Specified	Graham's Town	Scotch Whiskey &c. & c. Now Receiving in wood and bottle also, Hennessy's Pale Brandy, Jamaica Rum, Booth's Old Tom
13 October 1855	Favourite	N.P. Krohn & Co.	Not Specified	Not Specified	Gold-colored sparkling champaign-first quality Superior champaign brandy in 3 doz. cases Bordeaux Brandy
6 December 1856	Not Specified	Lawrance & Co.	Not Specified	Graham's Town	Hunt's Celebrate Port Wine Pale Sherry in 1 dox cases Hennessy's Pale French Brandy Champagne Cape Sherry Cape Madeira Sweet Pontac Rough Pontac Sweet Muscadel Cape Brandy Gin in Red Case (15 Flasks) Old Tom Whiskey Worthington & Robinson's Pale Ale Allsopp's Pale Ale in quarts and pints Porter in quarts and pints Canteen Tumblers
28 February 1857	Orbona	N.P. Krohn & Co	Not Specified	Not Specified	Champagne Cognac Amontillado Sherry Claret Margeaux Claret St Julien Haute Sauterne
8 August 1857	Not Specified	Lawrance & Co	Not Specified	Not Specified	Day and Payne's Draught Ale Barclay's Stout in pints Harper & Burn's Ale and Porter in quarts Red Case Gin, 15 flasks Fine Old Tom Scotch Whiskey Hennessy's pale Brandy in cases Cape and Boer Brandy Cape Sherr Hunt's port wine Offey's pale Sherry in cases

W. OGILVIE
WILL receive per *Bronleys*, in addition to his **EXTENSIVE STOCK of IRONMONGERY,**
The following Articles:—

Large and small Screw Plates,
Brass and Chain Dog-Collars,
Carpenters' Tools, Iron and Wood Braces,
Planes of sorts, Chisels, Gouges, Cramps,
TURNERS' TOOLS of all sizes,
Tea Kettles, Boilers, Oval Pots,
Sauce of Sauce Pans and Glass Pots,
Drag, small, and Jack Chains,
Rivets, Nails, Tacks and Brads of all descriptions,
Horse Shoes and Nails, Anvils,
Tails, Sheep and Farm-yard Bells,
Pick-Axes, Field Hoes of sizes,
Hinges of all descriptions,
Door Locks, Cupboard, Cabinets and Pad do.
Flush Bolts, Round and Flat do.
Files and Rasps of sizes,
Soap and small Pots and Camp Ovens,
Counter Machines, with Copper Disks,
Augers, Wagon Bushes to approved patterns,
Sledge, Masons', Smiths', Farriers', Carpenters',
Saddlers', and Upholsterers', Hammers,
Compasses, Saws of all descriptions,
Saddlers' Buckles, plated, of all sizes,
Also Tug and Squares Japanned,
Brass Stirrups, Rose and Centre Bits of sizes,
Horse and Gig Whips,
Snaffle, Carbs and other Bits,
All sorts of Brass Furniture and Ornaments for
House and Cabinet-Makers,
Steel Ramrods, Plated Hunting and Racing Spurs,
Curb Chains and Spring Hooks,
Half-round Brass Beading,
Iron Wire of sizes, Brass do.
Sheet Iron and Sheet Brass,
Hair, Lacen, Brass and Iron Stoves,
Kafir Buttons and Rings,
All sizes of Card, Seine Twine and Lines,
Glaziers' patent Diamonds,
Cut Wines, Tumblers and Decanters,
Lined Oil and Turpentine,
White Lead, black, red, yellow, blue, and green
Paints, and Vredigrossoe.
Shoe Blakers' Tools, Lasts, Men, Women, and
Children's, Hemp, Flax, bristles, awls, &c.,
Green worsted Line,
Venetian, colored silk hair Gimp, assorted.
Worsted Fringe of colors, and Marone,
Large Morocco skins, of colors,
Window Glass, of Sizes, plated Ware, best,
Table and Chamber Condensicks,
Also Waiters, from 14 inches to 30,
Chest stands and Egg do.

CUTLERY:
Balance Ivory handled Table Knives and Forks,
Carvers—Do. plain do.
Solers, Pen and strike-fire Knives,
Kitchen, Butchers, and Shoe Knives,
Superior Razors and Fleams,

BRITISH PLATE:
Table, Dessert, Tea, Gravy, Spoons and Forks,
Ladles do.: Knife Boxes.

TIN WARE:
Cash Boxes,
Wash-hand Bowls of sizes,
Pillies and horn Lanterns,
Broad Tins, Milk Pans, round and Oval Dishes,
Cullenders and Tin Pots, pint and quart.
Shot, patent, of sizes, gunpowder and lead.

BRUSHES:
Horse, Shoe, House, Table, Bannister, Carpet, Hair, and
nd of as many others as they could induce to profit by the
aint, of sizes, Mane and Curry Combs and Dressing
Combs.

A few 8 day Spring Bracket Clocks, office Time-pieces,
nd Dutch 48 hour do.—with numerous other articles in
he Ironmongery line, well assorted for the Frontier
trade.

S. Tildersly, Junr,
MANUFACTURING
Jeweller and Silversmith
HIGH-STREET, OPPOSITE
THE COURT HOUSE.

BEGS to inform his friends and the public
that he has always on hand an assortment
of gold fobknots, all prices; head-snaps, necklace
snaps, small and large brooches, shirt-studs, watch-
hooks, ear-rings different kinds, hoop ear-rings for
children, ladies' and gents' finger-rings, shirt pins
with and without chains, seals and keys, best sil-
ver thimbles, silver fruit-knives, silver pencil-cases,
&c. All articles of Jewellery made to order. An
assortment of jet necklaces, snaps, ear-rings, brace-
lets, buckles, &c.

Wedding and guard rings always on hand, child-
ren's ears pierced.

N. B. S. T. would wish the public to bear in
mind that as he is a *Manufacturer* he is enabled
to sell his articles at very reasonable prices.

Figure 2.5: Advertisements for Specialised Metal Products and Producers in *The Grahamstown Journal*.

a) 1 June 1843 and b) 25 January 1855).

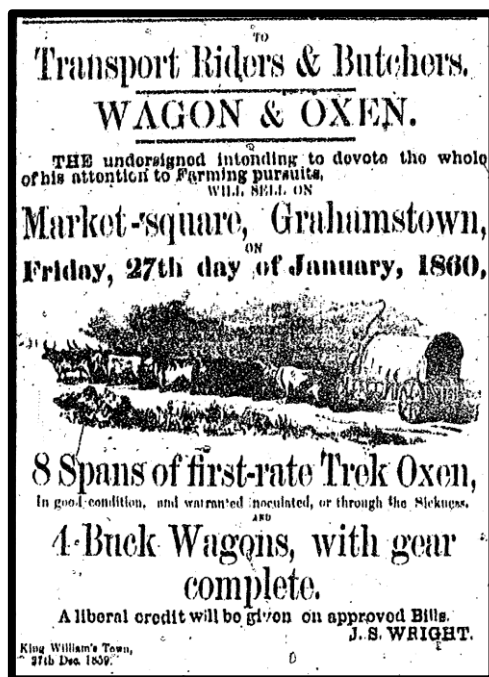
Table 2.3: Specialised Metal Advertisements.

<u>GTJ Date</u>	<u>Vessel Name and Type</u>	<u>Recipient of Goods</u>	<u>Type of Transaction</u>	<u>Location of Recipient</u>	<u>Cargo</u>
17 February 1849	Charles Carter	Benjamin Hadley	Not Specified	Opposite the court house	Table and dessert knives and forks with ivory, bone and stag handles Britannia metal tea and coffee pots Britannia metal table, dessert and tea spoons
5 September 1849	Not Specified	W.R. Thompson Jun.	Not Specified	Not Specified	Iron-Assorted sizes
3 February 1852	Harbinger	Jas. Parker, Ironmonger & Co.	Not Specified	Not Specified	Eley's Waterproof Percussion Caps
10 April 1852	Not Specified	Mr Joseph McMaster	Public Auction	In Front of His Residence in High Street	Kitchen Utensils
12 June 1852	Not Specified	Haw & Co.	Ironmonger	Graham's Town	Eley's beat Waterproof Caps, patent Shot Cartridges Plough Shares of various descriptions Farming Implements do. Wagon Bolts and Rivets do. Nails do. Carpenter's Tools of the best Quality Rim Shoes, warranted to wear
31 July 1852	Paramatta	James Parker	Ironmonger	Church Square	A few double-barrelled gns Ivory handled Knives only Ivory handled Knives and Forks Knives and Forks, black handled Percussion caps
1 January 1853	Not Specified	Joseph McMaster	Wagon Makers Assortment	Not Specified	13 Tons Iron 4 Tones Zinc, No. 10, 7x16 inches Tin Plates
5 March 1853	Reginia	N.P. Krohn	Not Specified	Graham's Town	Peppermint Lozenges-In tins Sardines-In tins
17 December 1853	Not Specified	James Parker	Ironmonger	Graham's Town	Copper and Brass, Wanted to Purchase. Old Metal Brass & Copper, for which a good price will be given.
21 January 1854	Not Specified	James Black & Co	Not Specified	Howard's No. 12 Harrows	Ransome Ploughs
20 January 1855	Silver Cloud	James Black & Co	Not Specified	Not Specified	American Produce-Eagles Ploughs No. 25 55 75
7 July 1855	Medora	N.P. Krohn	Not Specified	Not Specified	Bar iron in various dimensions
17 May 1856	Not Specified	Haw & Co.	Not Specified	Not Specified	Zinc for sale
7 November 1857	Not Specified	G.C. Frames	Not Specified	Graham's Town	Deals, all sizes, galvanized iron

2.1.3 Transportation

The only way to transport merchandise inland from the harbours at Cape Town and Port Elizabeth was a lengthy trip by ox wagon. Wagons took 17 days to bring goods from the Cape Colony to Grahamstown (Bunbury 1848: 29; Butler 1970b: 1). The wagons became a common sight on the well-travelled roads into the interior. Backhouse (1844: 172) describes the scene encountered by travellers on the roads from the Cape Colony:

In the course of the day, we passed several other wagons on the road. All the goods consumed in Graham's Town, or transported further into the interior, are brought from Port Elizabeth by these conveyances, which are also the principal ones for travelling in Southern Africa. From ten to twenty oxen, yoked in pairs, are employed at a time, in drawing them over the roads...



From Figure 2.6, an advertisement directed towards prospective transport riders, it is evident that the equipment required to do this type of work was substantial. The seller promises that the gear is complete, and the oxen are inoculated and have come through the sickness. Also, from Figure 2.7, it was evident that wagons were often in short supply in the formative years of the Colony. Advertisements were placed on a regular basis for additional wagons and drivers.

Figure 2.6: Advertisement for Transport Wagons in *The Graham's Town Journal* (3 January 1860).

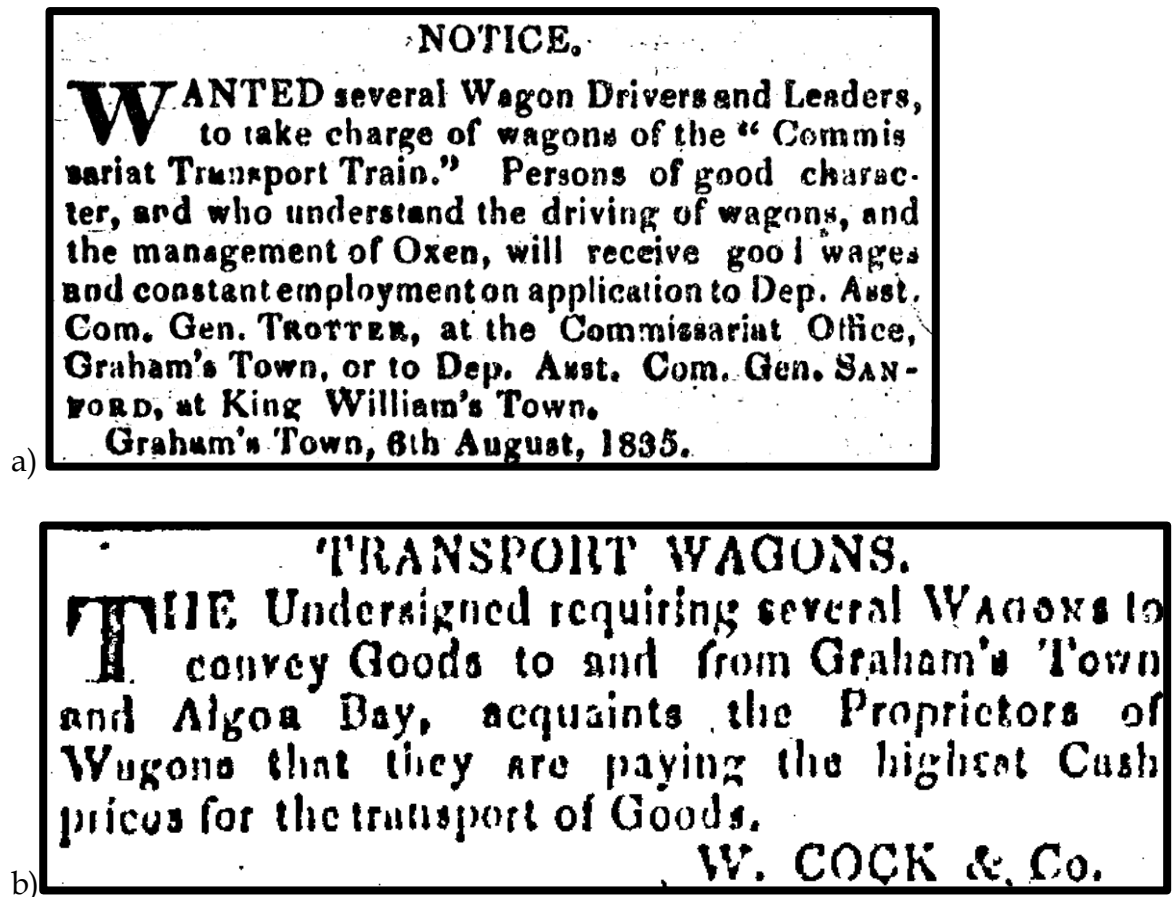


Figure 2.7: Advertisements for Wagon Drivers and Transport Wagons in *The Graham's Town Journal*.
 a) 6 August 1835 and b) August 1833.

Transport riders were the main group of people handling the flow of goods overland from the harbours. The riders were employed by the merchants in Grahamstown to collect merchandise directly from the harbour. In contrast to the transporters, the Boer farmers made the journey to the Cape once a year. The military were also a constant presence at the harbours. Units arrived and departed on a regular basis and troops also collected stores for the military.

Both the glass and metal merchandise were successfully transported to the frontier. Alcoholic beverages were delivered in kegs and bottles on wagons as evidenced by the drawing in Figure 2.8 (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982: 34). Empty bottles also arrived in the colony as ballast in the ships (Jones 1986: 14). This enabled general dealers to keep a few sundry bottles in stock as part of a varied assortment of products. Apothecaries sold their merchandise in delicate glass vials. Tinctures and home remedies sold by travelling salesmen were also bottled at the time of sale. Nails and small metal items were transported in kegs, while the

larger items were durable enough to survive the journey placed directly in the wagons.



Figure 2.8: Wagon Driver Bringing in Glass Bottles from the Brewery (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982: 34).

It is however unclear whether the wagons delivered directly to the stores or if the merchants attended the market to collect their produce. The transport riders were the life blood of towns like Grahamstown. The roads were wide enough to accommodate the turning radius of a full span of oxen. The market place was also large enough to accommodate the wagons.

2.1.4 Delivery Times

Reverend Thornley Smith (1850: 44) observed that the arriving wagons were eagerly anticipated as they often brought orders that had taken a long time to reach the frontier (see also Bunbury 1848: 29 and Butler 1970b: 1):

Graham's Town, no river flows through it, except one of the branches of the Cowie which is a mere streamlet; so that all the transport to and from the town is affected by land-carriage, and that of the most tedious kind. Our merchants at home would

not have patience to wait for their goods, as the merchants here must do. They would imagine that the world was about to stand still, and trade and commerce to be utterly ruined.

By comparing the *Shipping Intelligence* records in *The Graham's Town Journal* to the advertisements placed by the various store owners it is evident that the stock arrived in Grahamstown from the Port Elizabeth harbour within a short time of the ship unloading in the port. In Figure 2.9 the brig *Ulysses* arrived in Port Elizabeth on 30 January 1833. On 3 January 1833, C & H Maynard advertised that their store was expecting stock from this vessel. On 6 February the store of W. Cock & Co advertised the receipt of their merchandise from the *Ulysses*. Similarly, in Figure 2.10 the *Claudine* docks on the 30 September 1833 and C & H Maynard have their stock in store on 3 October 1833.

FOR LONDON DIRECT.

THE fine new brig *Ulysses*, WILLIAM CRAWFORD
Commander, burthen 165 tons, A. 1. is now
loading in Algoa Bay, and has the principal part
of her cargo positively engaged. For Freight or
Passage apply to Capt. Crawford at Port Elizabeth, or to
F. NEUGH & Co. Outehage.

JUST LANDED from the ULYSSES.

AN extensive assortment of Goods, consisting of
white and grey Panjamas, fancy Cambric
small patterns, do. Navy Blue and black and white
Prints, cambric, jaconet, book, mull and cord
Muslins, black, blue and drab Moleskins, moleskin
Coaters, Shooting Jackets and Jacket and Trowsers,
striped, cotton and blue Shirts, Ribbands, Barcelona
and bared silk Handkerchiefs, silk Shawls, Voerchitz,
of choice patterns, Duffles, Balze, Blankets, super-
fine and second Cloths, Ironmongery, and a variety
of other articles, too numerous for insertion.
W. COCK & Co.
6th Feb. 1833.

ARRIVAL IN PORT ELIZABETH.

JAN. 30 — *Ulysses*, Brig, W. Crawford, master,
from Table Bay, Jan. 16. — Cargo general. Pas-
sengers, Capt. Keats, 76th Regt., Mrs. Keats, and
child, Miss O'Reilly, Miss Judge, 4 servants, 6 men,
1 woman, and 11 children in the steerage.

- DEATHS.

At Port Elizabeth, on Monday the 24th Dec.
1832, Robert Heaman, aged 8 years and 3 months.
Jan. 1 1833, Thomas Little, aged 73 years.
Jan. 7th, Thomas Gregory, aged 36 years.

c) **EXPECTED from ULYSSES.**

A Few casks of well assorted Earthenware,
some bales of Corn and Gunny Bags, and
60 new double-twilled Wool Sheets.
C. & H. MAYNARD,
♦♦ Mauritius Sugar on Sale.

Figure 2.9: Advertisements for *The Ulysses* in *The Graham's Town Journal*.
a-b) 7 February 1833 and (c) 3 January 1833.

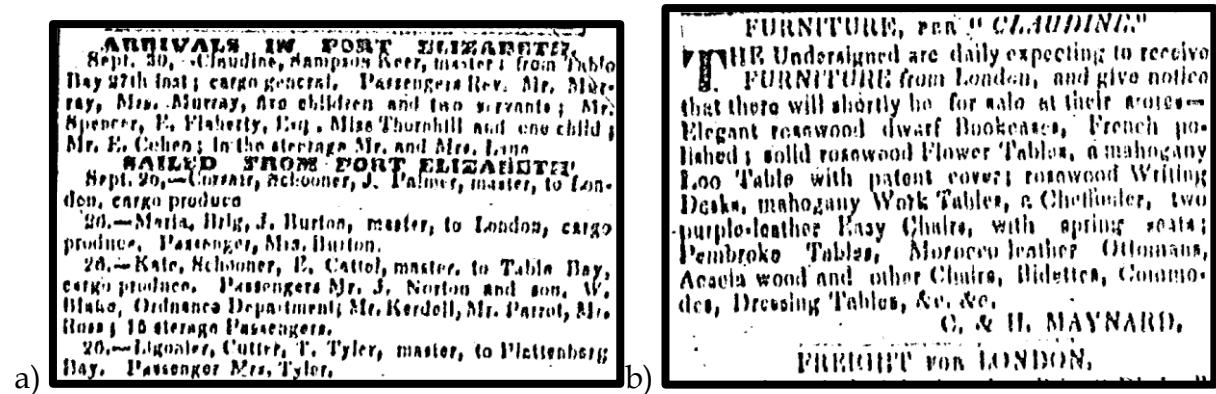


Figure 2.10: Advertisements for *The Claudine* in *The Graham's Town Journal*.
a) 30 September 1833 and b) 3 October 1833).

As can be seen with the *Ulysses* above the shopkeepers were able to publish advertisements for “expected items”. This appears to indicate that there was correspondence between the town and the port and that notice of impending vessels could be as much as four months. In Figure 2.11. we see that C & H Maynard could advertise in April 1842 for stock that arrived on the *Lively* months later, in August of that year.

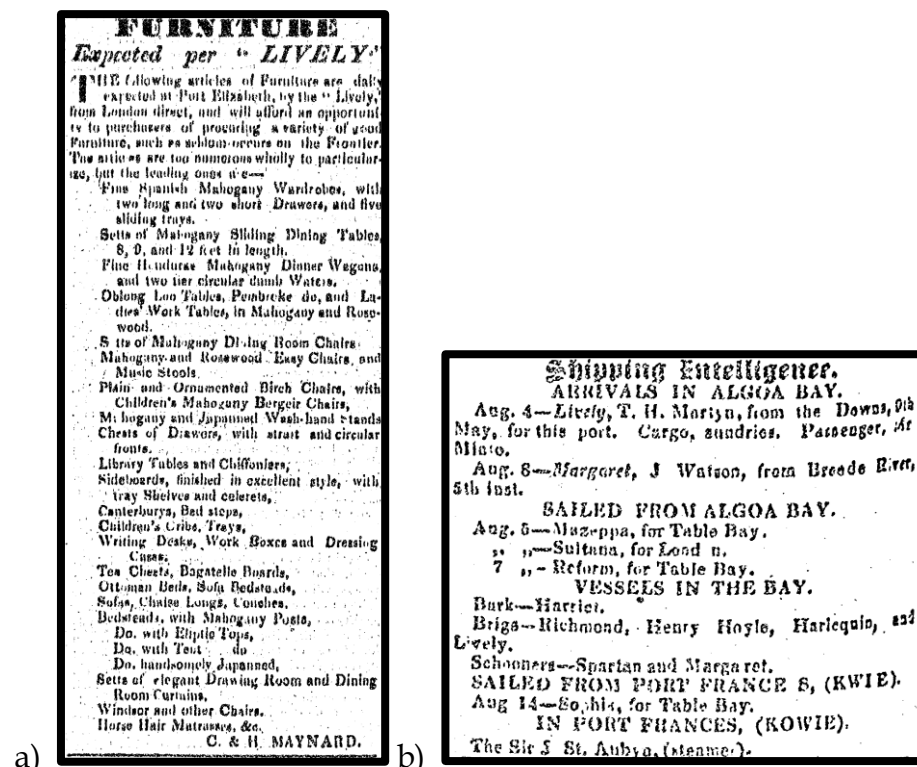


Figure 2.11: Advertisements for *The Lively* in *The Graham's Town Journal*.
(a) 4 April 1842 and b) 18 August 1842).

2.2 INSIDE GRAHAMSTOWN

It is not for nothing that Napoleon described the British as a nation of shopkeepers...Maxwell (1970: 18).

The establishment of the new harbour at Port Elizabeth in 1830 provided a boon to the Eastern Cape (Lester 1998a & b). The period it took for towns like Grahamstown and Graaff-Reinet to receive their merchandise from the coast was greatly reduced and this raised their importance as trade centres in the Eastern Cape (Beck 1987: 20; Neumark 1957: 138, 182-183).

In 1842 J.C. Chase boasted that Grahamstown has become “the emporium of the Eastern Frontier Districts and its main streets present a scene of incessant commercial activity whilst almost every article whether of utility or ornament may be readily obtained as in most of the provincial towns of the mother country” (Marshall 2008: 42). By the mid-1820s, builders, blacksmiths, shoemakers, wheelwrights, and even more esoteric trades such as jewellers and bell-hangers, were operating in the town. By the 1840s Grahamstown has a well-established “artisan and labouring” class (Marshall 2008: 21). These professionals, along with the military, traders and local groups made up the new population of the town.

2.2.1 The Market in the Town

Traders and consumers entered the town daily, along with the ever-present wagons bringing goods from the coast. Figure 2.12 depicts a typical market day in Grahamstown with the wagons standing in neat rows and their merchandise displayed on the ground in front of each wagon. The market inside the town was well supported. Reverend William Shaw (1872: 78) observed the daily activities at the market (see also Lewcock 1963: 402):

It possesses a large market, attended every morning by people from the country, and traders from the interior, to sell their produce. This is not the only supply to the town of a large portion of their daily wants, but very frequently the traders offer for sale on these occasions the varied kind of produce which they have brought from the far interior...The assemblage on the market is likewise a kind of public exchange, where

merchants and dealers meet, and business transactions are often negotiated. The market is held in the morning.

The merchants then proceed to their large and well stocked stores, where, through the day they are occupied by customers, their retail dealers, whether of the town or from the country. Very frequently the streets are crowded with wagons drawn by long teams of oxen, which are employed in carrying goods to their destinations in the country, or in conveying the wool, hides, and other kinds of produce to the sea-port for transmission to England. The town is well supplied with shops for the sale of wares and goods of all kinds. For its size and the number of its inhabitants it is often surprising to see the amount of business which seems to be going forward.



Figure 2.12: Mr Hume's Waggon (sic) of Ivory and Skins from the Interior of Africa on Market Square Graham's Town South Africa (Painting by Thomas Baines (1850), Culture History Museum Grahamstown).

Market prices fluctuated depending on the availability of the products. This was particularly prevalent in the 1830s in Grahamstown before orders were regulated and the ships brought in what was required. The differences were attributed to

the “unequal state” of the market (Figure 2.13). Market price lists were also published in *The Graham’s Town Journal* on a weekly basis. These lists contained the prices of liquids packaged in glass (Table 2.4).

MARKET PRICES—RETAIL.					
<p>Flour, 6d. per lb.; wheat, £1 per bushel; fresh meat, 1s. per lb.; salt pork or beef, little or none to be had,—about 1s. 2d.; bread, 9d. per 2-lb. loaf; tea, 5s. per lb., and of good quality scarce; sugar, 8d.; coffee, 1s. 9d.; soap, 2s. 6d.; starch, 1s. 6d.; blue, 3s.; fresh butter, 3s.; salt, 2s. 6d.; rice, 5d.; tallow-candles, 2s.; wax, 3s.; oil, 4s. per gallon; spirits—brandy, 14s. to 16s.; gin, 14s. to 15s.; rum, 10s. to 12s.; Cape wine, 5s. per gallon; potatoes, 4d. per lb.; fowls, 5s. per couple; eggs, 2s. per dozen. Vegetables are generally abundant.</p> <p>The market fluctuates considerably, and we may say the prices of various articles, or the scarcity of them, has never been greater since the establishment of the colony. This unequal state of the market is attributable to our not having a regular trading vessel connected with the colony.</p>					

Figure 2.13: Market Prices—*The Graham’s Town Journal* (8 February 1838).

Table 2.4 : Grahamstown Market Prices.

	Market Date	Product	Quantity	Opening Price (Rds. ¹⁸)	Closing Price (Rds.)
Feb 10 1832	Feb 9 1832	Brandy	Per half num.	15	16
Feb 10 1832	Feb 9 1832	Lemon Juice	Per half num.	16	16

2.2.2 The Glass and Metal Proprietors in the Town

...Judge Cole was later to complain that “Graham’s Town has acquired a “trading character”. “[It] is decidedly and essentially a stupid town. It has about six thousand inhabitants, who are nearly all of the shop keeping class” ... Cosser 1992: 23-24.

As can be seen from Reverend Shaw’s quote above, the store owners purchased goods at the market daily. While these practices may have supplemented the stock

¹⁸ Rix dollars

in the stores the proprietors took control over their merchandise and ordered what they required directly from the suppliers. This section highlights roles that these people assumed in the town.

The distinction between “merchants”, mostly Grahamstown-based and often wealthy, and “traders” moving back and forth across the frontier was becoming clearer by the 1830s. The 1843 almanac lists them as separate occupations. There is also a distinction made between “merchants”, presumably involved in the export trade, and “storekeepers”, who were exclusively retailers (Marshall 2008: 25).

2.2.2.1 Merchants

After the Settlers moved from their farms into the town a powerful group of traders emerged from the ranks of the middle and upper class British immigrants. These professional traders, the merchants of the town (Figure 2.14), became the town’s financial backers, providing funding for the traders who went into the interior to trade and barter (Lewcock 1963: 402; Shaw 1872: 79). They also had the added security of a stable base of operations in the town (Crais 1992: 107; Lester 1998a: 522).

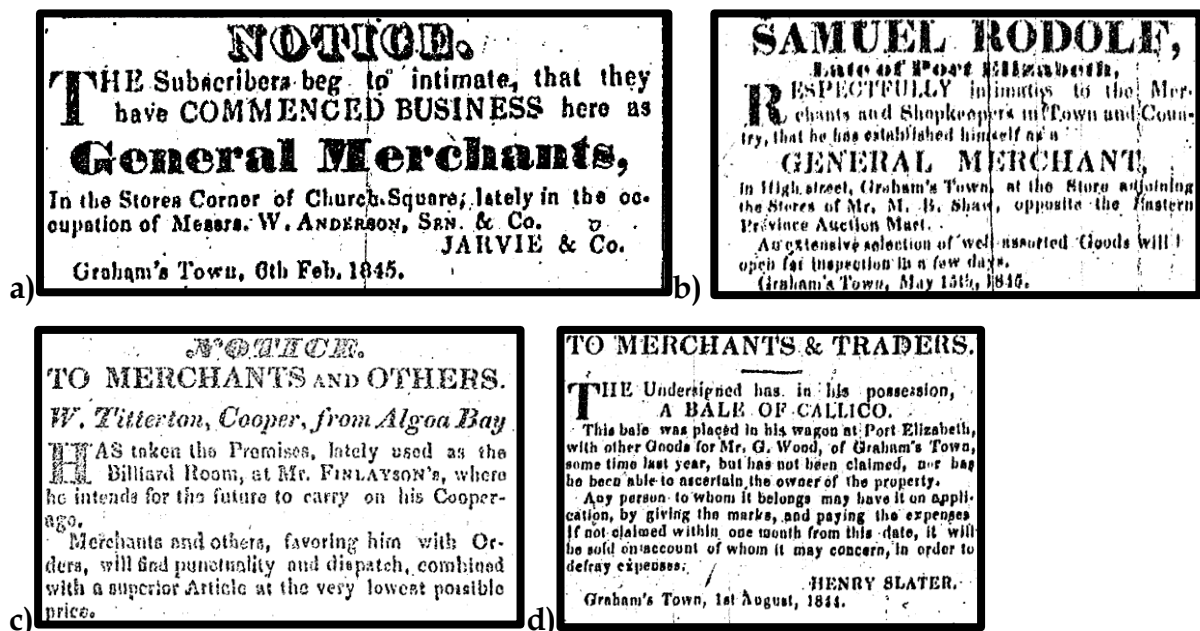


Figure 2.14: Advertisements About the Merchants in Grahamstown in *The Graham's Town Journal*. (a) 13 March 1845, b) 15 May 1845, c) 18 November 1841 and d) 1 August 1844).

Moodie (1835: 207) observed that the transactions were often loaded in favour of the merchants. Farmers were forced by regulations to offer their produce for sale in the town before proceeding to the coast. Merchants then attempted to get the farmers to take goods from their stores in payment when the farmers had no idea of the commensurate value of the European goods available in the towns.

In 1824 the merchants put steps in place to tighten their control over trade. With the view of creating a monopoly they applied pressure on the then governor of the Cape, Somerset, to change the trade laws to favour them. The price of trading licenses increased, and the quantity of available licenses decreased effectively putting this opportunity out of reach for many informal traders (Bundy 1979: 30; Crais 1992: 107; Elphick & Giliomee 1989: 268; Erlank 1995: 63-64; Marshall 2008: 22).

In 1826 the merchants stood together again. The letter (KAB CO 3931/218¹⁹) transcribed below shows how the merchants petitioned the then Governor of the Cape, Major General Bourke, for recourse and assistance to collect on outstanding debts for trade and sales transactions:

To His Honour, Major General Bourke, Lieutenant Governor of the Cape of Good Hope

The Memorial of the Undersigned Merchants and Traders of the District of Albany

Honestly sheweth (sic)

That your Memorialists have long experienced great inconvenience and difficulty in consequence of the powers of the Court of Landdrost and Heimraden being limited to the recovery of debts below the sum of Three Hundred Rix Dollars, and therefore obliging the Prosecutor to have recourse to a distant and consequently expensive Tribunal as the Court of Justice in Cape Town and which from the increasing Mercantile transactions of this Frontier (almost all of which centre in this town) still further impedes the progress of Businesses.

¹⁹ KAB-National Archive in Cape Town

Your memorialists therefore most humbly beg that your Honor will be pleased to take the hardships of their situation into consideration and apply some remedy, either by the extension of the Power of the before mentioned Court, or with other as Your Honor may deem most applicable to the exigencies of your Memorialists Case

Grahams Town 8th May 1826

By the 1830s merchants, like Benjamin Norden, boasted that he had earned between £40 000 and £60 000 in two decades of trade. Trans-frontier trade became the foundation of Grahamstown's prosperity (Marshall 2008: 23). In 1837 Grahamstown was established as a municipality. Between 1837 and 1862, the merchants maintained their control as more than half of the municipal commissioners were merchants (Marshall 2008: 23, 150).

2.2.2.2 Shopkeepers and General Dealers

In contrast to the merchants the shopkeepers (Figure 2.15) in the town worked directly with the public in the stores. With the financial backing of the merchants the shopkeepers worked and resided in the town. The stores varied from those who did not specialise in specific produce, and advertised extensive lists of goods, to dealers who chose to specialise in specific items (Elphick & Giliomee 1989: 266; Marshall 2008: 35; Moodie 1835: 307). King (1855: 291) describes the contents of one of the stores:

The stores in which everything one could think of was to be bought-saddlery, groceries, ironmongery; Gunter's preserves, Dutch cheese, Crosse and Blackwell's pickles; clocks, rovers, ploughs, rifles, crockery, stationery, wines, spirits, Bass's pale ale; fiddles, mirrors, pots, pans, and kettles; ostrich feathers, cases of gin, tobacco and ten thousand things besides,-were filled all day long with a crowd of officers from the camp, of all arms and corps, with leather-patched uniform, mahogany-coloured faces, and long beards and mustachios, trying on boots, buying preserved meats, and stuffing their pockets with bundles of cheroots, boxes of Lucifer matches, and pots of cold cream to anoint their sun-blistered noses. Then there were solemn Dutchmen, in purple trousers and round jackets, discussing politics

and cattle; and their vrowws and daughters busy purchasing finery or household supplies; while diminutive Bushmen and tawny Griquas elbowed their way in and out, intent on Hollands and glass beads....

Ayton & Carter,
IMPORTERS of and Dealers in Foreign Wines and Spirits, have for Sale, at their Store, New-street, a large quantity of Champagne Burgundy, Claret, Port, Sherry, East India Madeira, Sauterne, and Cape Wines, of best quality; also, a few Hogsheds of superior Old Port, in Wood, Whiskey, Old Tom, French Brandy, Hollands, Rum, bottled Ale, Porter and Cyder.
N.B. An allowance made to Dealers.

a)

FOR SALE,
AT the Stores of the Undersigned, in Hill-street, formerly occupied by Messrs. H. E. RUTHERFOORD & BROTHER, superior Cape Sherry, old dry Pontac, and Cape Madeira, in half-aums, the whole can be recommended as of superior quality; Port and Sherry, in cases. Daily expected, a few baskets of Champagne, and 5 cases of fine Burgundy, Claret, Vve. DELBO's & FIL's, Chateau Margeaux, and French Brandy, in cases, which will be sold on reasonable terms.
J. MASKELL.
Graham's Town, April 18, 1838.

b)

W. ANDERSON, SEN. & CO. are now receiving per *Kuysna* and *Maty*, an assortment of the most fashionable fancy Muslins, real India Chintz, twilled and plain printed Cottons, India Dimity, Furniture Chintz, Town dyed Satteens, printed Jaconet Muslins, black and white Prints, black Gros de Naples and Bombazine, French and English Merinos, Saxony, Welsh and Lanchashire Flannels, Duffles and Kerseys, Blankets, Moleskine, Baftas, Voershits, fancy and other Shirts, Shooting Jackets, Shawls, Battie, Romal, and other Handkerchiefs, Ladies' Shoes, Ladies' and Gentlemen's Clogs, Tape, Pins and Thread, Braid
Lanterns, shoe and scrubbing Brushes, Twine, of various sorts; Cut-Glass Decaners, Tumblers and Wines, Lucifer Matches, London made Coffee Roasters, Corks.
An assortment of beautiful Linen Damask, Table Cloths, Napkins, Tray Cloth and Tablings, Linen Sheeting, Diaper, Huckaback, Towelling
A fresh batch of TEAS, warranted from the Stores of the East India Company.
Superior Pontac and Cape Sherry, French and Cape Brandy, Jamaica Rum, Irish Whiskey, Gin, &c. Rice, fresh Dates, Coffee, Tamarinds, preserved Ginger, &c.
Also Two very splendid PIANO FORTES, of the latest and most improved principle, with raised tablet corners, convex aring plate, with extensive braces, grand check action &c.
A complete set of spare strings, tuning Fork and Hammer to each instrument.

c)

MESSRS. W. Anderson, Kennelly, & Co.
Have received per *MERCURY* 2000 BOXES LIVERPOOL SO^{OP}.
ALSO:
per "SIREN,"
Yack Hams,
Pickled Salmon,
Bottled Fruit,
Mustard, Pickles, Sauces,
Jams, and Jellies,
Vinegar, in Wood and Bottle,
Bakkt Salt,
Lozenges, and Confectionery,
Pearl Barley,
Cavendish Tobacco,
Blue Bean Coffee,
White Rice,
Crushed and Loaf Sugar,
Caper Tea,
Salad Oil, Starch,
Tobacco Pipes, Nutmegs,
Striped Cotton, & Regatta
Shirts,
Blucher Boots,
Ladies Cashmere Boots,
Patent Shoes,
Childrens Boots and Shoes,
Woolen Blankets,
Cotton do.,
Negro Shirts,
Brass Wire,
Jack Chain,
Sheet Zinc, 16 inch.
H AFFENDENS
Sherries in gr. Casks and Octave, EPS, V. G. B.

d)

Figure 2.15: Shopkeepers Advertisements in *The Graham's Town Journal*.
a) 8 July 1837; b) 18 April 1838; c) 20 August 1835; d) 26 July 1851).

2.2.3 The Businesses in Grahamstown that Utilised Glass and Metal

The businesses in the town provided services to the residents and the military. This section focuses on the main businesses, and service industry, in Grahamstown that utilised glass and metal. It also focuses on the auctions that formed a large part of the commercial transactions in the town.

2.2.3.1 The Hotels

The rooming houses and hotels in Grahamstown were an important part of the economy of the town. These formal establishments were essential to the population not permanently resident in the town. Among the transient population were the businessmen, traders and transport riders who constantly moved from the harbours to the frontier and back again. Rooming houses and hotels advertised their establishments in *The Graham's Town Journal*. The advertisements always include a breakdown of the spirits and alcoholic beverages that were on offer for people staying in their accommodation as well as the stabling available for horses (Figure 2.16).

THE PRINCE ALBERT HOTEL.

THE undersigned begs to acquaint his old friends and visitors in general, that he has returned to and resumed the business of the **Prince Albert Hotel** Now-street, Graham's Town, Where he hopes by attention and moderation to meet with a due share of public support. He begs to state that since his return he has built a convenient and roomy stable, which, with other conveniences of outbuildings for servants, will ensure the comfort of gentlemen travelling or visiting town on horseback or in carriages.

GOOD WINES, SPIRITS, BEER,
do. do.
ALWAYS ON HAND,
But no **Canteen** on the Premises.
* * A few good saddle horses to be let on hire.
J. JACKSON.

a)

Stephen Harding, HOTEL KEEPER, MARKET-SQUARE, GRAHAM'S TOWN.

IN tendering his thanks to his Friends and the public for the very liberal support he has received, since he commenced the above Hotel, begs to inform them that it is now his intention to devote the whole of his time and attention to the above Hotel. Families and Travellers visiting Graham's Town will find at this Hotel every comfort of a private house. Saddle horses to let by the hour or day. Parties bringing jaded horses may purchase or barter at the above Hotel, as the advertiser always has a number of Horses for sale. S. H. has fitted up a large **Horse Wagon** Which he hires to parties proceeding to the country either on pleasure or business. This Wagon is fitted up in a superior manner with spring seats, which renders it easy on a bad road. Foreign Wines, Spirits, Ale, Porter, &c. Dry and extensive Stabling for horses. Horses taken into bait. Graham's Town, 10th Feb. 1849.

b)

WOOD'S HOTEL, GRAHAMSTOWN, Late Durney's Royal Oak,
(Next door to S. D. Handy, Wine Merchant, Corner of Bathurst-street.)

The present proprietor has made extensive alterations and improvements to the premises, with a view to establish its character as a First-class **COMMERCIAL AND FAMILY HOTEL**. There are private sitting and bed-rooms, for families and lady travellers. A table d'hôte daily, an excellent stock of Wines—first-class bill of fare. Moderate charges and English servants in waiting. Tillins daily, from 12 to 2 o'clock. Bass and Alsop's Burton Ale in draught. Colonial and English newspapers.

J. WOOD.
Bathurst Street, Grahamstown.
Extensive range of Stables.

c)

Thatched Tavern.

H. BALFOUR begs to announce to the Public that having taken a lease of the House lately occupied by the late Mr. Tonn, will be happy to accommodate Families visiting Graham's Town. Has an extensive stock of Cape and Foreign Wines, Spirits and Malt Liquors of the best quality, a Billiard Table, and extensive Stabling. N. B. Horses to hire.

d)

Figure 2.16: Advertisements for the Different Hotels and Rooming Houses in *The Graham's Town Journal*.

a) 31 July 1847; b) 13 September 1838; c) 7 April 1860 and d) 10 February 1849).

2.2.3.2 The Taverns and the Canteens

The canteens and taverns served as meeting places in the town. The locations appear to be places where the local population felt comfortable. It also appears that the local groups intermingled with the military in the canteens although the patrons are often portrayed as lower-class citizens and labourers (Marshall 2008). The population of Grahamstown were depicted in paintings of the period as lounging around the town with the ubiquitous bottles plainly in view. Figure 2.17, a street scene in Grahamstown, illustrates this point, as does the Khoekhoe woman sketched by Methuen (1846: 25) in Figure 2.18.



Figure 2.17: Street Scene in Grahamstown (painting: Cultural History Museum Grahamstown).



Figure 2.18: Khoekhoe Women in Grahamstown (Methuen 1846).

Although the temperance societies in Grahamstown protested the canteens and taverns in the town these establishments remained open and were popular. Marshall (2008: 76) mentions a canteen owner who is quoted in *The Graham's Town Journal* as saying: "I have been the humble means of dispensing more real and direct happiness in one hour, and that with plain Cape Brandy, than all your humbug schools and societies will do in a century." Public drunkenness in the town was not condoned. In a notice in

The Graham's Town Journal (Figure 2.19) the Chief of Staff, Lieutenant Colonel Smith, warned about the steps that would be taken if even the slightest indication of impropriety was found in one of these establishments.

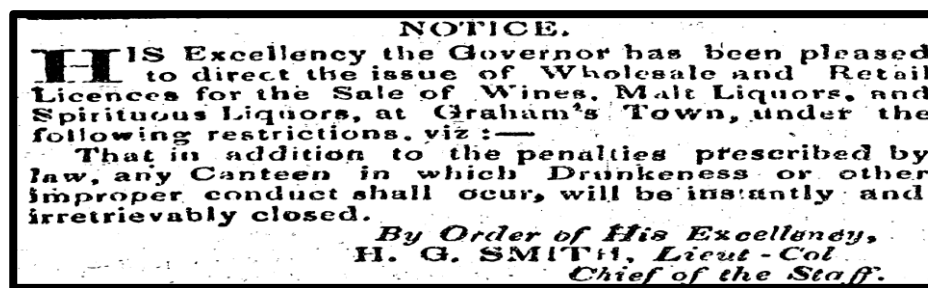
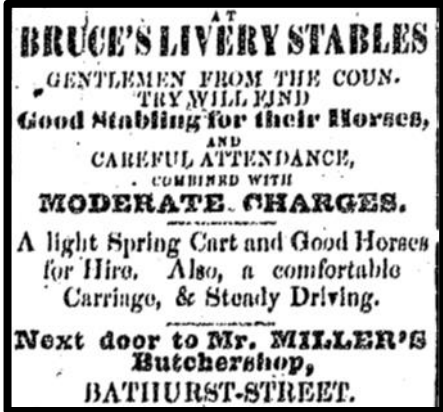



Figure 2.19: Notice on the Punishment for Public Drunkenness in *The Graham's Town Journal* (30 January 1835).

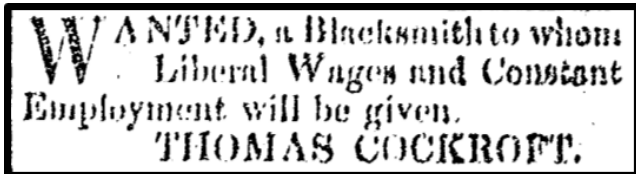
2.2.3.3 The Service Industry

The increased merchandise in the town also attracted potential customers that were not permanent residents in the town. This transient population included the soldiers enroute to postings, Boer farmers, Xhosa and traders. This bolstered a secondary industry in the town; the service industry; that enriched the lives of all the people resident in the town. The service industry in Grahamstown provided employment to the Settlers that moved from their farms into the town. These services were essential to the daily operations of Grahamstown and utilised the

glass and metal imported into the town to conduct their business. Figure 2.20 highlights examples of the businesses that utilised metal in their daily activities and Figure 2.21 provides examples of the businesses that utilised glass.

a) 

b) 

c) 



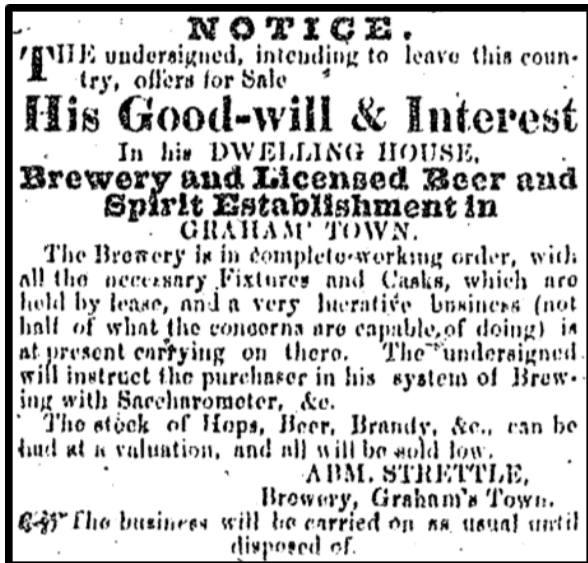
d) 

Figure 2.20: Service Industry in Grahamstown-Businesses Using Metal
a) 9 Sept 1854; b) 27 November 1854; c) 9 Sept 1854; d) 4 June 1853.

a) 

b) 

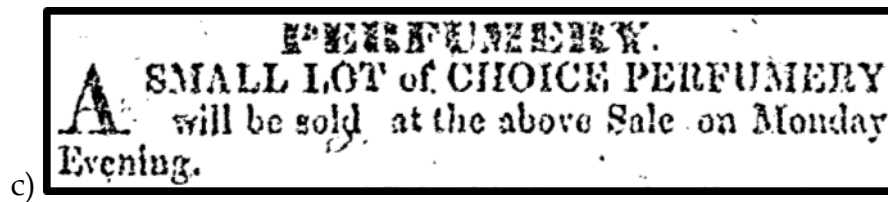
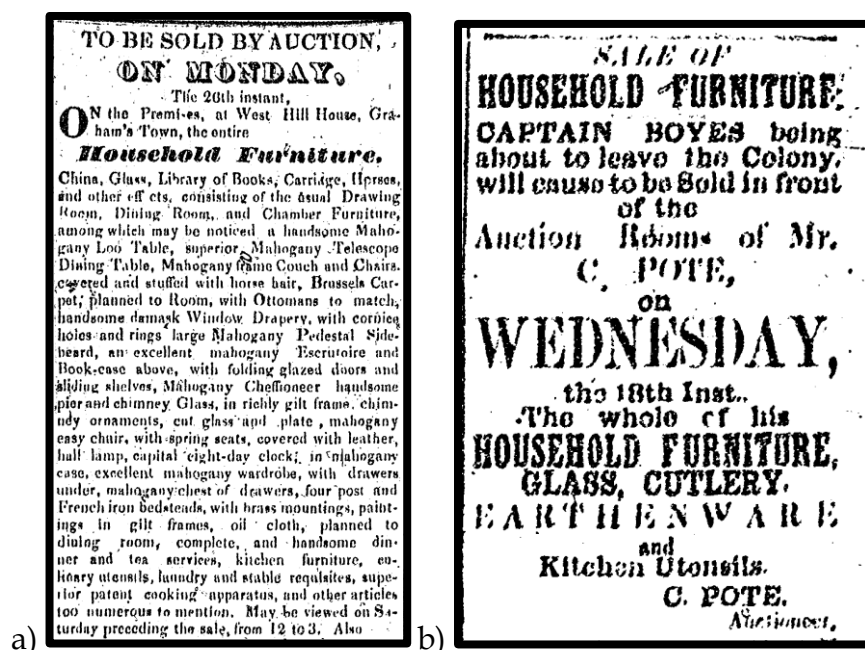


Figure 2.21: Service Industry in Grahamstown-Businesses Using Glass
a) 21 January 1854; b) 15 January 1853; c) 9 August 1851

2.2.3.4 Auctions

Auctioneers were able to conduct a steady business in the town. The auctions held in Grahamstown took four specific formats (Table 2.5 and Figure 2.22). The first three of these formats were individual and personal: the auctions held by soldiers who were returning home and could not take all the possessions they had accumulated with them, the dissolution of partnerships and disposing of insolvent estates. The fourth format was impersonal, the disposal of excess goods and damaged goods by the commissariat.

Several of the advertisements for the auctions do not include a location. This appears to indicate that the people were familiar with the location at which auctions would take place. The personal material available at auction added an additional layer to the material culture in the town. The items were individualistic, the private property of the Settlers in the Cape.



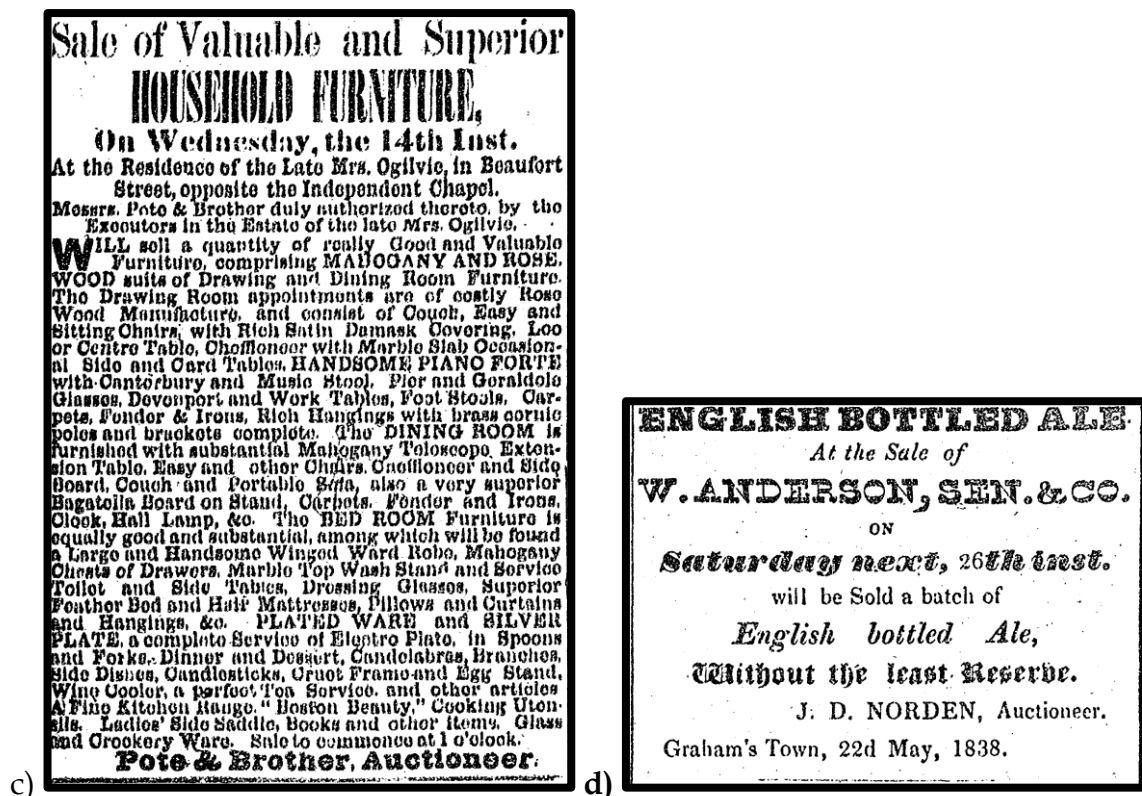


Figure 2.22: Examples of the Auctions Held in Grahamstown in *The Graham's Town Journal*.
a) 15 June 1843 b) 14 Jan 1860 c) 10 December 1859 d) 24 May 1838.

Table 2.5: List of Auctions Held in Grahamstown (By Location and Auctioneer).

GTH Date	Recipient/Seller of Goods	Auctioneer	Location of Recipient	Type of Auction	Cargo
4 July 1833	Grahamstown Brewery	Edward Norton/Caesar Andrews	Not Specified	Dissolution of a Partnership	The Property is in a state of complete repair and order, and the operation of Brewing may be continued without interruptions, as a sufficient supply of Materials will be offered for Sale at the same time..An opportunity is now open for an advantageous Investment of Capital, as the consumption of Malt Liquor on the frontier is daily increasing..Good English Barley is grown in the Eastern Districts, and from experience, the Water and Climate are found favourable for Brewing
1 Aug 1833	James Weeks	B Norden	Not Specified	Estate Sale	Looking Glasses..Glass..Knives and Forks, and an excellent assortment of Kitchen Utensils
15 Aug 1833	Charles Dalbairns	None Listed	Not Specified	Estate Sale	..Glass and Crockery Ware, Kitchen Utensils..Agricultural Implements, a Plough, a Wagon, Smith's and Carpenter's Tools..some Wine Casks, a gun
5 Dec 1833	Not Specified	J.D. Norden	Not Specified	Public Sale	..1 Ox Wagon, 2 Guns..Drill..Shoes, Braces..Ironmongery, Cutlery
19 Dec 1833	Dr Campbell	B Norden	Not Specified	Public Sale-Dr Campbell (Returning to England)	..Glass ware, Flutes, Cases..bottle Casks..Pictures..Perfumery, Castor-Oil
27 Feb 1834	Alexander Oxhole	J.O. Smith	Not Specified	Insolvent Estate	Looking Glasses..Glass and Crockery Ware..a Timepiece Gold Watch...a gun, a case of Pistols
3 April 1834	Mr Johannes Hendricus Scheepers	A Tennant	Not Specified	Farm Sale-	Bullock and Horse Wagons..Glass & Earthenware, Kitchen Utensils..Tools, Farming Implements
5 June 1834	Not Specified	Kidson & Jarman	Not Specified	Commissariat Sale	..a quantity of Silk Buttons..French Brandy, and five half Pipes of good Cape Wine, also a lot of Smith's Tools
13 January 1849	Not Specified	James Black & Co.	Graham's Town	Public sale	8 half pipes Cape Wine, 6 half pipes Cape brandy, 24 cases Claret, 6 cases Hock, 1 hogshead Claret, French brandy in bottle.

<u>GTJ Date</u>	<u>Recipient/Seller of Goods</u>	<u>Auctioneer</u>	<u>Location of Recipient</u>	<u>Type of Auction</u>	<u>Cargo</u>
13 January 1852	Heideman, Cock & Co	Charles Pote	Not Specified	Public sale	Glassware-Cut Glass, Decanters, Glass Dishes, Wine Glasses, Jellies, Sugars, Pickles and Toilet Bottles
31 January 1852	Estate of Late William Ogilvie	Charles Pote	High Street-Grahamstown	Public Sale	General Ironmongery, Candlesticks, Wire, Door Locks, Screws and Nails
10 April 1852	Potes General Sales	Charles Pote	Church Square	Public Sale	15 Cut Sheets Zinc 10 and 18 inch
10 April 1852	Mr Joseph McMaster	Mr Joseph Lawrance	Front of his High Street Residence	Auction	Crockery and Glassware-Wine Glasses, Decanters, Tumblers, Pickle Dishes, a Handsome Dessert Service
15 July 1854	Assigned Estate of Arnold Sheppersom	R.G. Stone	Auction Mart of Joseph Lawrance	Auction	Book debts of the above estate.
11 November 1854	Not Specified	J Lawrance	Grahamstown	Wine and Spirit Sale	10 Cases Allsopp's Pale India Ale
					10 Cases Schedam Gin
12 May 1855	Not Specified	Charles Pote	Auction House-High Street	Public Sale	Guns and other articles
21 July 1855	Not Specified	J Lawrance	Not Specified	Commissariat Sale	A few cases of Sherry (Payarette) and Red Case Gin
17 May 1856	Not Specified	Charles Coxen	Grahamstown	Commissariat Sale	China, Glass and Crockeryware
28 April 1857	Not Specified	J Lawrance	Grahamstown	Commissariat Sale	15 Cases (Each 1 doz) Amontillado Sherry
8 June 1858	R.D. Bell sales	R.D. Bell	Fort Beaufort	Public Auction	General Assortment-Ironmongery and glassware
8 June 1858	Chas Coxen	J Lawrance	High Street-Grahamstown	Public Sale	40 cases superior pickles
					5 cases of salad oil
26 March 1859	Stanger's Sales	S Stanger	Church Square	Public Sale	Ironmongery, Saddlery, tinware slop pails
12 April 1859	Mr J. Geard	Pote & Brother	Bathurst Street	Public Auction	Glass and earthenware, tin and metalware
14 January 1860	Captain Boyes	C Pote	In front of his auction rooms	Public Auction	The whole of his household furniture, glass, cutlery, earthenware and kitchen utensils

2.3 THE TRADE NETWORKS FROM GRAHAMSTOWN TO THE INTERIOR

The interior of the colony was viewed as an untapped market. Prior to the ban being lifted on trading across the frontier, trade was driven by the traders, missionaries and soldiers stationed in the interior. In 1830 Governor Somerset lifted the ban on trading across the frontier. Trade fairs were also slowly phased out as the attendance of trade fairs, like Fort Wilshire, started to decline (Beck 2000: 55; Marshall 2008: 24, 76-77).

There was a sharp increase in licence applications after cross border trade was legalised. Marshall (2008: 22) highlights a lengthy list of professions that applied. These included “farmers, carpenters, shoemakers, painters, bricklayers, tailors, wheelwrights, and smiths, as well as a piano tuner, a jeweller and a china painter.” Grahamstown provided a stable base of operations from which to send people and merchandise further into the interior. Collier (1961: 40) explains the role of the town:

Born out of military necessity, she continued to find another rich source of wealth in trade with the native. She became the gateway to the east, the focal point of barter between black and white, and every missionary, every explorer, and every

trader lumbering over the veld with his wagon-load of knives, beads, cooking-pots, blankets (and sometimes guns hidden above the axle-poles) must pass through Grahamstown to seek a permit to enter Kaffirland.

Trade also changed as the focus shifted to the interior (Crais 1992: 106):

The frontier trade became the single most important avenue by which settlers accumulated the capital, upon which commercial agriculture would develop, the so-called 'merchant road' to capitalism in South Africa. Traders were linked to a complex web of credit relations that stretched from Grahamstown to Port Elizabeth to Cape Town and London, in which Cape Town merchants retained much of the earlier control, setting up stores in Grahamstown which sold the commodities the traders bartered to the Xhosa.

There is documentary evidence to support the fact that these traders dealt with the farmers in the interior. The lesser documented transactions were the transactions between these traders and the Xhosa, between traders and the houses of accommodation, and between traders and the soldiers at fortifications they passed during their journey.

2.3.1 Cross-Border Traders

The various groups that breeched the interior, and moved between Grahamstown and Fort Willshire, are too numerous to cover in this research. In this final part of the trade network the cross-border trade is primarily viewed from the perspective of the first traders who entered the interior and then focuses on how the large trading cartels started to take over. The other part of this section will focus on the tender process and the way in which forts were supplied by the town.

The first traders who worked in the interior were undertaking these trips even before the British resettled the Cape in 1806. These travelling salesmen were private “non-specialist Boer traders” (Bundy 1979: 30) or “*winklers*” (King 1855: 139) not affiliated with any British traders and often not having a permanent base of operations. The itinerant traders or *smousen* traversed the frontier with their complete inventory in their wagons. They travelled at least three months of the

year and even fetched some of their merchandise directly from the Cape (Neumark 1957: 150-151).

Cole (1852: 156) describes these traders as following the style of the “Cheap-Johns” from the rural areas throughout England. He also describes the merchandise that left and returned to the town in the wagons of these traders:

At present there are a few men who load two or three wagons with coarse cloths, calicos, guns, tobacco, beads, brass, brass curtain-rings (a favorite ornament on the arms of the natives), sugar &c... They seldom get money in exchange for their goods, coin being decidedly scarce in the Desert: but they receive ivory, karosses of wild animal's skins, ostrich feathers, native arms and other curiosities and occasionally cattle. With these they return to the colony, after an absence of probably six months, and seldom fail to clear five or six hundred, or a thousand pounds, by their venture.

The *smousen* maintained personal relationships with the isolated families they visited. They were welcomed like returning family and normally brought news of events and even delivered mail. It was normal for them to arrive with several wagons loaded with merchandise. He also took orders to deliver goods to the farmers, usually letting them know beforehand when he would come again and what road he would follow (Erlank 1995: 64; Kelly 2010: 100; Neumark 1957: 145-147).

As the trade was slowly removed from the hands of these travelling salesmen merchants strove to incorporate some of them into their new trading cartels. This is evidenced by an advertisement placed by the Cawood Brothers (5 May 1857) for a salesperson acquainted with the Dutch trade (Figure 2.23 a). These cartels were also soon organised under merchants and agents to effectively take over the cross-border trade (Figure 2.23 b).

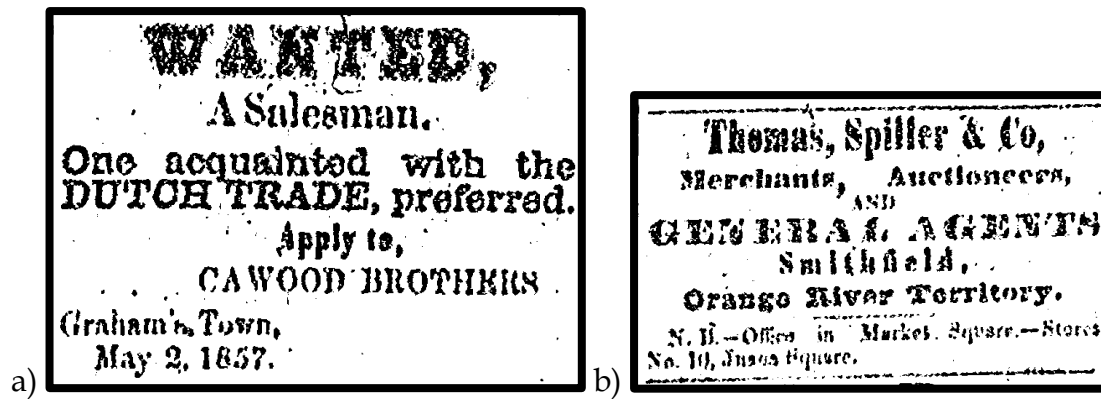


Figure 2.23: Cross-border Trade (The Graham's Town Journal a) 5 May 1857; b) 4 Feb 1854).

2.3.2 Supplying the Military in the Interior and on the Frontier

This final section was kept separate to highlight Grahamstown's dependence on the military and on military spending. The British military relied on towns to fill the requirements for their supplies. Commissariat tenders were highly sought after by the merchants in Grahamstown and some merchants worked towards monopolising as many contracts as possible (Marshall 2008: 15, 17, 29). The successful recipient of a tender was required to fulfil this function for a complete year. The people that were unable to get these contracts often accused the businessmen of "warmongering" (Galbraith 1963: 42), believing they deliberately incited trouble in the town to keep tensions high between the Xhosa and the British.

The tender process did not go smoothly. As Scott (1973: xvii) pointed out the military "movements were slow and deliberate" "with a brake applied by the Treasury's constant cry for economy" and "negotiations were protracted and often unsatisfactory." All the supplies were stored in magazines until the merchandise was needed. The army was fed and clothed from these store houses. The troops closest to these magazines received their supplies promptly while as the distance grew the transportation grew more complicated (Scott 1973: 28).

2.3.3 The Tender Process in *The Graham's Town Journal*

The commissariat placed advertisements in *The Graham's Town Journal* throughout the entire period under study in this research. The advertisements petitioned for tenders to provide both the garrisons stationed in Grahamstown and the troops stationed throughout the eastern province, including Fort Double Drift, with supplies and transportation.

An analysis of the frequency and content of the tender advertisements enabled this research to draw conclusions on the financial health of the military forces stationed on the Eastern frontier. The results revealed that tenders were renewed on a yearly basis. During the analysis emphasis was placed on how the tender process would change during the frontier wars. The research revealed that the number of tenders were unchanged during wartime. This may be an indication that the agents contracted for those years would simply increase their orders or the military made alternate arrangements to scavenge for additional supplies.

The Graham's Town Journal provides a full list of products and services required by the military. These records are diverse enough to get a complete picture of what the military required to successfully sustain their various regiments (Figure 2.24). The military also petitioned for supplies to provision troop ships that were leaving the colony. The tenders submitted in Grahamstown are summarised in this section. The largest tender category relates to food rations. The meat, bread and wheat were delivered in specific quantities on a weekly basis. Spirit rations were also kept separate from food rations (Figure 2.25).

CONTRACTS.

THE Respective Officers of Her Majesty's Ordnance hereby give Notice, that they will receive Tenders until 12 o'clock

On MONDAY, 21th March next,
from such persons as may be willing to enter into Contracts for the performance of the undermentioned

ORDNANCE & BARRACK SERVICES

for the period of Three Years, commencing the 1st of April, 1845, and ending 31st March, 1848, viz. :—

1st.—For the periodical removal of such **STABLE LITTER** and **DUNG**, as may accumulate in the Stable Yards of the 7th Dragoon Guards and Cape Mounted Riflemen at Fort Beaufort.

2nd.—For the removal of the **ASHES, DUST, LITTER, &c.**, from the Lay Stalls in rear of the Officers' and Soldiers' Barracks in the Drostdy Ground, at Graham's Town.

3rd.—For **EMPTYING** the **PRIVIES** and **SWEEPING** the **CHIMNIES** of the Officers' and Soldiers' Barracks at

GRAHAM'S TOWN, including Fort England,
FORT BROWN,
FORT PEDDIE,
THOMPETER'S DRIFT,
COMMITTEE'S DRIFT,
DOUBLE DRIFT,
FORT BEAUFORT,
MANCAZANA
POST RETIEF,
EILAND'S POST,
FORT ARMSTRONG,
PORT ELIZABETH.

4th.—For **WASHING** and **REPAIRING BARRACK**
and **HOSPITAL BEDDING**, at the above
Posts.

Security will be required for the due performance of the above Services, for which payment will be made Monthly, on production of the requisite vouchers.

The prices to be stated in Sterling; and any further particulars may be obtained on application at the Ordnance Office, Graham's Town, or of the respective Barrack Masters.

Tenders to be sealed, and endorsed, "Tender for _____" specifying the service.

a)

Figure 2.24: Commissariat Tenders for General Goods and Services in *The Graham's Town Journal*.
a) 27 February 1845.

CONTRACT

Scavenger's Work.

THE respective officers of H. M. Ordnance, hereby give notice, that they will receive tenders, until 12 o'clock at noon,

On Monday,

The 11th September Next,

from such persons as may be willing to enter into separate contract, for the performance of the Scavenger's work at all the Ordnance, Barracks, and Hospital Buildings, at the undermentioned stations, from the 1st Oct. 1847, to the 31st March, 1848, viz:—

Graham's Town District.

Graham's Town
Cawood's Post
Trumpeters Drift
Port Peddie
Committee's Drift
Fort Brown,
Houbie Drift

Fort Beaufort District.

Fort Beaufort
Fort Hara
Botha's Post
Elland's Post
Post Relief
Blinkwater
Mancanza Post
Fort Armstrong.

Port Elizabeth District.

Port Elizabeth

Security will be required for the due fulfilment of the contract.

Tenders are to include each district ONLY, and to be made out in the following form, sealed, and endorsed on the envelope, *Tender for Scavenger's work.* Form of Tender, and any further information may be obtained on application at the Barrack Office at Graham's Town, Fort Beaufort, and Port Elizabeth.

Place: _____
Date: _____

GENTLEMEN,—

I hereby tender to perform the Scavenger's Work at the Ordnance Barrack, and Hospital Buildings at the undermentioned post, in the district of _____ from 1st Oct. next, to 31st March, 1848,

VIZ:—

At _____ per diem £—

The Respective Officers,
Graham's Town,
N. B.—Each Post to be stated separately.

SALE

OF

Commissariat and Troop

Ship Stores.

ON THURSDAY,

The 21st August,

Will be Sold by Public Auction in front of the Commissariat Buildings, the following Commissariat and Troop Ship Stores:—

1 Sack Coffee,	150 lbs.
1 Bag 3 Cuffs Sugar	905
1 Cask 7 Sacks Flour and Meal	1446
5 Bags Salt,	
5 „ Bran ..	524
4 „ „ „ ..	262
2 Casks Sugar ..	371
1 „ Butter ..	80
4 „ Oatmeal ..	1160
19 „ Pease ..	6012
2 „ Raisins and Currants ..	230
7 Poncheons Jamaica Rum ..	471 gallons.
3 Casks Vinegar ..	226
4 „ Bottled Port Wine ..	225 bottles.
2 „ 1 Case 351 Tins Preserved Meats	439 lbs.
3 Jars Chloride of Lime ..	336
2 Cases Lime Juice ..	130 bottles.
5 Casks Scotch Barley ..	498 lbs.
3 „ Pearl „ ..	190
3 „ Soup ..	73
4 „ Rice ..	172
2 „ Sago ..	36
6 „ Chocolate ..	571
1 „ Tea ..	73
41 St at Oak Shooks,	
161 „ „ Casks,	
221 Oak Kegs with handles (water vats),	
170 „ Mess Kits with handles,	
6 Ventilators 3 Oak Bathing Tubs, 8 Lead Pipes,	
19 Buckets, 11 Harness Casks, 475 empty Bottles,	
4550 lbs. Sweepings (chiefly Oats), 2 old Saddles,	
30 stout Chests with iron Clamps, &c. &c.	

Commissariat Office, Port Elizabeth,
7th August 1848.

THOM. STRICKLAND,
Dept. Asst. Com. Genl.
W. M. HARRIS, Auctioneer

a)
b)

Figure 2.25: Commissariat Tender Advertisements for Scavenger Work and Troop Ship Stores in *The Graham's Town Journal*. (a) 11 September 1847 and b) 12 August 1848).

Forage was supplied for the horses and straw was provided for both the stables and the living quarters (Figure 2.26). The Royal Engineers also required supplies to continue either construction or maintenance at the fortification. Various tenders for transport and the transportation of ordnance were also applied for (Figure 2.27). Several miscellaneous categories and general items are also included to show the services that were also required for the fortifications (Figure 2.28).

**COMMISSARIAT.
SUPPLIES.**

NOTICE is hereby given, that Tenders marked on the Envelope "Tender for Supplies," will be received by the Undersigned, at his Office in Graham's Town, until 12 o'clock on **TUESDAY**, the 14th February next, from such persons as may be willing to undertake the supply, or perform the following services for the Commissariat Department on the Eastern Frontier, for a period of 12 months, commencing 1st April next, and terminating on 31st March, 1838:—

1st.—For supply of Bread, made from Wheaten Meal, } at per 100 lbs.
from which 1-7th has been } English weight.
extracted as Pollard,

2d.—For supply of Meat of the best quality, 5-7th Beef } at per 100 lbs.
2-7th Mutton, in the week, } English weight.

3d.—For Fire-wood, at per 100 lbs. } English weight.

4th.—For Candles, at per 100 lbs. } weight.

at all or either of the Undermentioned Posts, &c., and to be delivered direct to the Troops, viz:—

Graham's Town,	Kafir's Drift,
East Barracks,	Fort Willshire,
Sypher Fontein,	Post at Botha's,
Fort Brown,	Post at Tomlinson's,
Double Drift,	Fort Beaufort,
Committees Drift,	Fort Armstrong,
Fraser's Camp,	Fort Thompson,
Fort Peddie,	Raubenheimer's Drift,
Trompeter's Drift,	Post Retief, Winterberg,
Bathurst,	and Port Elizabeth.

5th.—For Baking Bread from Meal furnished by the Department, returning 138lbs. Meal. Bread for every 100lbs. Meal, } at per 100 lbs.
at all or either of the beforementioned Posts, &c.

6.—For the supply of wheaten Meal, of good, wholesome, marketable quality, delivered at Graham's Town, } at per 100 lbs.
Fort Beaufort, } English weight.
Fort Armstrong, and
Port Elizabeth,

7.—For Wheat of sound and good quality, delivered at Graham's Town and Port Elizabeth, } at per 100 lbs.
English weight.

8.—For the supply of Cattle and Sheep in best condition and age for Slaughter, delivered at Fort Beaufort, } at per 100 lbs.
of Meal, sinking } English weight.
from time to time, in such }
numbers as may be required, } the offal.

The weight of the Cattle and Sheep to be ascertained by the Slaughter of a fair average of those delivered at the time, and payment made accordingly.

As Security will be required, the names of two responsible persons must be stated on the Tender, or by letter, who are willing to become bound accordingly for the due fulfilment of the Contract.

Any further information required may be obtained on application at the Commissariat Offices, Graham's Town, Fort Beaufort, or Port Elizabeth.

CHAS. PALMER, Act.-Dep.-Com.-Gen.
Commissariat Office, Graham's Town, 2d January, 1837.

a)

**COMMISSARIAT.
Supplies for 1849,-50.**

TENDERS
WILL be received at this Office, until Twelve o'clock,
ON WEDNESDAY
The 7th February next.

from such persons as may be willing to furnish supplies for Her Majesty's Troops and others receiving Rations from the Commissariat on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape of Good Hope, and in British Kaffaria, and also,

FRESH MEAT

to Hospitals, for a period of twelve months, commencing on the
1st April next, and ending 31st March, 1850,
Viz:—
**BREAD and FRESH MEAT,
FUEL, WOOD,
and
TALLOW CANDLES,**
for

1st.—The whole of the Posts within the Colonial Boundary, and also all such others as may be formed within the Colonial Boundary.

2nd.—The whole of the Posts in British Kaffaria, also for such other Posts or Camps as may be formed in British Kaffaria.

Tenders for Bread, Meat, Fuel and Candles, as above, will be received by the Commissariat Officer at Port Elizabeth, until the period specified, for the service at that station.

The quality of the Meal from which the Bread is to be manufactured to correspond in all respects with the sample which may be inspected at the various Commissariat offices.

A separate Tender will be required for Bread at Graham's Town, and separate Tenders may be made for either the 1st or 2nd of the above named services.

Parties tendering are required to name two persons willing to become sureties for the due performance of the contract, should the Tender be accepted.

Each Tender to be marked on the left hand corner of the cover

"Tender for Supplies, 1849,-50.

Payment for the above when the Amount may be £50, or upwards, will be made in Bills at Par on the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury.

Conditions of the Contracts to be entered into, and information as to the number of Rations which will probably be issued, and the Amount for which Security will be required may be obtained on application at this Office; and, as regards the supply at Port Elizabeth, at the Commissariat Office at that place.

W. GREEN,
Dep.-Com.-General
Commissariat Office,
Graham's Town,
6th January, 1849.

b)

Commissariat.

TENDERS will be received at this Office, until 12 o'clock on **SATURDAY**, the 16th instant, from such persons as may be desirous of purchasing the under-mentioned quantities of damaged **BISCUIT**, at the following Posts:—

Fort Brown. 580 lbs.	} At per 100 lbs. English weight
Double Drift 850 "	
Committees Drift 308 "	
Trompeters Drift 1,081 "	
Cawoods Post, 1,100 "	
Bathurst, 581 "	
Fort Peddie, 800 "	

JAMES D. WATT, Asst.-Com. Gen.
Commissariat Office,
Graham's Town, 5th November, 1845.

c)

Commissariat.

TENDERS FOR SPIRITS.

TENDERS will be received at this office until 12 o'clock, on **TUESDAY**, the 16th January instant, from such persons as may be willing to purchase about
2,300 Imperial Gallons of Spirits.
Each offer to state the price per Imperial Gallon.

TERMS, CASH ON DELIVERY.

Commissariat Office, Graham's Town,
9th January 1849.
W. GREEN, Dept.-Com.-General.

d)

Figure 2.26: Commissariat Tenders for Rations in The Graham's Town Journal.

a) 5 January 1837; b) 8 January 1850; c) 6 November 1845; d) 13 January 1849.

COMMISSARIAT.
FORAGE CORN.

NOTICE is hereby given to such Persons as may be willing to supply **FORAGE CORN**, either Barley or Oats, for the Service of this Department, that Tenders, marked on the Envelope "*Tender for Forage Corn*," will be received by the undersigned at his office in Graham's Town until 12 o'clock on **THURSDAY**, the 16th Feb next, for such quantities as they may be disposed to deliver at the undermentioned Posts respectively viz.—

Graham's Town,
Fort Brown,
Double Drift,
Committee's Drift,
Fraser's Camp,
Fort Peddie,
Trumpeter's Drift,
Bathurst,
Cawoods, Kafir Drift,
Fort Willshire,
Fort Montgomery Williams,
Post at Bothas,
Post at Tomlinson's,
Fort Beaufort,
Fort Thomson,
Fort Armstrong,
Post at Eckhart's,
Post Relief, Winterberg, and
Port Elizabeth.

The Tenders to express the quality and description of Corn,—the periods of the proposed deliveries, if more than one,—and the Post or Posts at which the deliveries are to be made; together with the price in sterling money at per 100 lbs. English weight.

Ample Security will be required, and the names of two responsible persons, who are willing to become bound accordingly for the due fulfilment of the contract, must be stated on the Tenders, or by letter.

C. PALMER, Act. Dep. Com. Gen.
Commissariat Office,
Graham's Town, 12th Dec., 1836.

a)

b)

Commissariat.
ORDNANCE SERVICE.

TENDERS will be received at this Office until 12 o'clock, on **TUESDAY**, the 4th of March next, for the *immediate supply* of the undermentioned quantities of **STRAW**, suitable for filling Soldiers' Pallets, deliverable at

Fort Brown, . . . 3,020 lbs.	Double Drift, . . 720 lbs.
Fort Peddie, . . . 4076 "	Fraser's Camp, 102 "
Committee's Drift, 872 "	Bathurst, . . . 480 "
Trumpeter Drift, 840 "	Cawood's Post, 480 "

Tenders to state the price per 100 lbs. English weight.

Any further information may be obtained on application at the Ordnance Office.

JOHN J. SMITH,
Dep. Asst. Com. General.
Commissariat Office, Graham's Town,
20th February 1846.

Figure 2.27: Commissariat Tenders for Forage and Straw in *The Graham's Town Journal*.
(a) 15 December 1836; b) 27 February 1846).

Commissariat.

TENDERS will be received at this Office, until 12 o'clock,
WEDNESDAY,
20th Instant,
for the conveyance of Eleven Guns and Carriages from the Ordnance Yard, Graham's Town, to Port Elizabeth. The above Guns and Carriages are to be delivered by the 31st July at the latter Station.

Commissariat Office, Graham's Town,
22d June 1848,
W. GREEN, Dept. Com. General

a)

COMMISSARIAT.

NOTICE is hereby given that Tenders, marked on the Envelope "Tenders for Materials," will be received at this Office, until 12 o'clock on **SATURDAY** the 15th August next, from such parties as may be willing to supply, for the service of the Royal Engineer Department, the undermentioned articles, during the current year, viz:—

Charcoal,	at per 100 lbs
Brushes,	{ Paint, 0 0 0	each
	{ Tar,	do.
	{ White-wash,	do.
Coals, (English)		per 1000 lbs.
Cord, (Thatching)		per bundle
Glass,	{ 12½ x 10½ inches,	per pane.
	{ 10 x 8 do.	do.
	{ 9 x 7 do.	do.
Iron, (British)	{ Bolt, of sizes,	lbs
	{ Flat, do.	do.
	{ Hoop, do.	do.
	{ Square, do.	do.
Lime, (stone)		bushel
Nails, (Iron)	{ Spike, of sorts,	lbs
	{ Rose, do.	do.
	{ Clasp, do.	do.
	{ Closet, do.	do.
	{ Scupper, do.	do.
Oil, (Linseed)	{ Boiled,	pint
	{ Raw,	do.
Paint, ground in oil	{ black	lbs.
	{ white	do.
Roofing Paper, best quality,		100lbs.
Spades, No. 4,		each
Shovels,		do.
Steel, blistered,		lb.
Stone, quarry,		ton.
Tar, Stockholm,		barrel.
Timber,	{ Deal, 3 inch, best Norway.	sup. foot.
	{ Stink-wood, 3 inch,	do. do.
	{ Sneeze-wood,	cub foot
	{ Yellow-wood,	do. do.
	{ Poles, assegai,	each.
Turpentine		lb
Whiting,		do.

The articles to be delivered by the parties contracting, between the hours of 9 and 3 o'clock only, and at such parts of Graham's Town, or of the East Barrack premises, as may be required.

The Tenders must express the price in sterling money, in figures and in words at length, and also the names of two responsible persons who are willing to become securities for the due fulfilment of the contract.

CHARLES PALMER, Asst. Com. Gen.
Commissariat Office, Graham's
Town, 22d July, 1835.

COMMISSARIAT
TRANSPORT FOR 1834,
On the Eastern Frontier.

NOTICE is hereby given to such Persons as may be willing to furnish Bullock Wagons, for the service of the Troops and Departments on the Frontier for one year, commencing on the 1st January, and ending on the 31st December, 1834; that sealed Tenders (marked on the Envelope *Tender for Transport*), specifying in figures, and in words at length, the rate in British Money, and the number of Wagons, will be received by Assistant-Commissary-General PALMER, at his Office, Graham's Town, on or before 12 o'clock on **MONDAY** the 25th November next.

1st. For Wagons to or from Port Elizabeth at per hour, and return Loads at per hour.

2nd. For Wagons from Graham's Town to the Out Posts at per hour, and return Loads at per hour.

3rd. For Wagons employed in Graham's Town and its Vicinity, including the Cape Barracks, at per hour.

4th. For Wagons employed beyond the boundary at per hour.

5th. For Wagons employed at the Posts of
Port Beaufort, at per Day of 8 hours,
For Willshire, do.
Hermannus' Kraal, do.
Kas River, do.
Caffer Drift, do.
Gualana, do.
and Port Elizabeth, do.

6th. For Oxen per pair, with Leader, at the following Posts:—
Graham's Town and its Vicinity at per Day of 8 hours
Port Beaufort,
Port Willshire, and } at per Day of 8 hours.
Caffer Drift,

The Wagons must have covers, and be in every respect efficient for the Service at all times, and provided each with a good and sufficient team of Oxen, with Leader and Driver.

No Tenders will be accepted for a less number of Wagons than two, except under the 5th Item for employment at the Out Posts, for which Service Tenders for one Wagon will be received.

As Securities will be required for the due fulfilment of the Contract, the names of two responsible persons must be stated on the Tender, or by Letter, who are willing to become bound accordingly.

Any further information required, may be obtained on application at the Commissariat Offices in Cape Town, Graham's Town, and Port Elizabeth.

CHARLES PALMER, Asst.-Com. Gen.
Commissariat Office, Graham's Town,
October 24, 1833.

Figure 2.28: Commissariat Tenders to Supply the Royal Engineers and for Transport in *The Graham's Town Journal*. b) Supplies (6 August 1835); a) & c) Tenders for Transport (14 November 1833 and 24 June 1848).

2.3.4 Supplying a Frontier Fortification-Fort Double Drift-Formal and Informal Trade

It was quite reviving to see the arrivals of stores and mule-waggons, during the period of the truce...Ward 1851: 47.

Supplies reached the fortifications, like Fort Double Drift (Figure 2.29), along the main routes into the interior and back to Grahamstown. The route through Fort Double Drift leading to Fort Willshire brought the soldiers at the fort into direct contact with the trader's en route to the trade fairs at Fort Willshire. Fort Double

Drift coped with increased wagon traffic from Grahamstown, as traders brought wagons loaded with goods and produce to trade at Fort Willshire (Coetzee 1994: 260). The returning traders also used the same route to return to Grahamstown with their purchases.

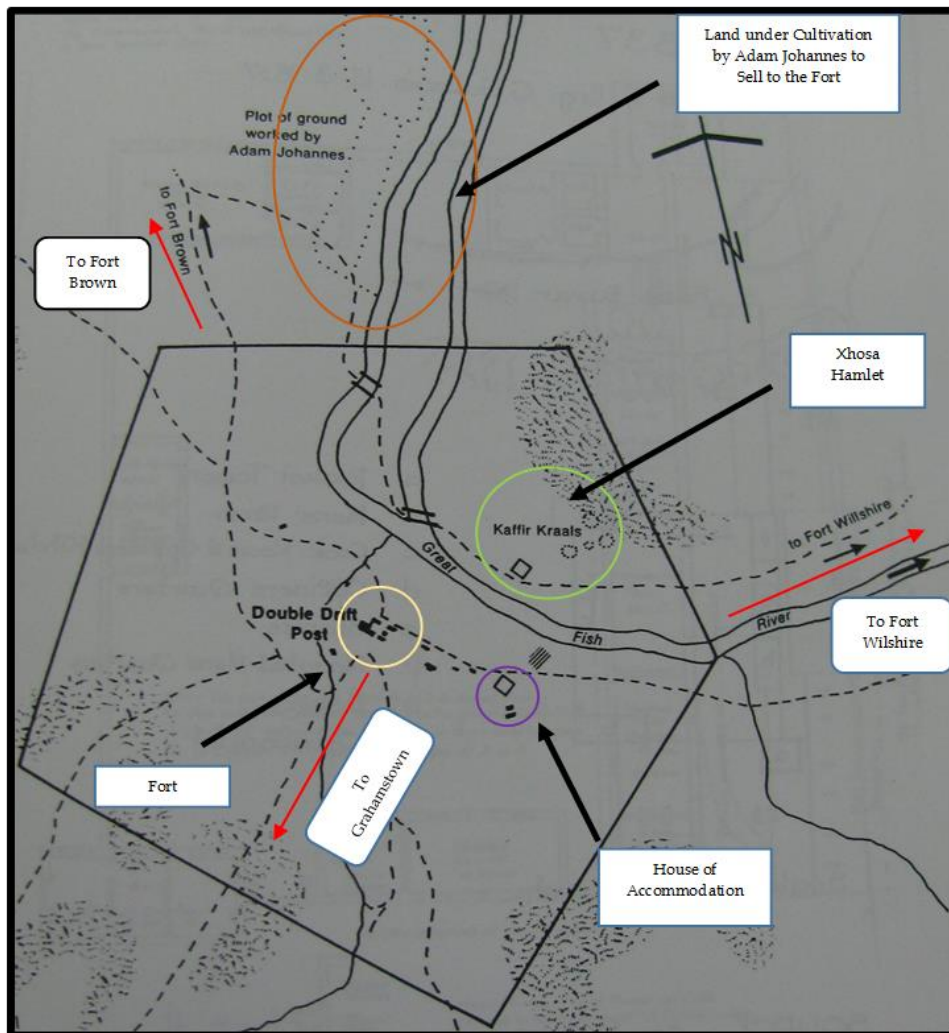


Figure 2.29: Site of Double Drift-War Department, 291 Acres 2 Roods 24 Poles (Source MP325 (S757F1) Cory Library) (Reproduced in Coetzee 1994:261).

While there is no conclusive documentary evidence, a strong possibility exists that the soldiers at the fort would have transacted with these traders. Coetzee (1994) also highlights the drawing power of the fort:

But military posts were like magnets to the civil establishment, with the result that temporary structures of contractors, shop-keepers, labourers, the inevitable Xhosa huts (for begging, stealing, eaves-dropping), usually abounded in the vicinity of forts.

Although the transactions between the fort and the commissariat were formal, the transactions between the soldiers and the traders were completed on an informal basis. Gordon-Brown (1941: 52) describes the impromptu visits to the forts to trade:

Some parts of the bush near us were infested with monkeys. The Kaffirs used to bring them to the Camp and sell them for tobacco. Two or three brass buttons or a stick of tobacco would purchase a couple of them.

All movements within the sphere of influence of the fort were accompanied by troop movements (Webb 1998: 81). King (1855: 19, 42-43) describes the flow of people through the fort:

Commissariat and baggage wagons kept pouring into camp all day long; arms were cleaned and examined; saddle-bags and pack-saddles, patrol tents and cooking utensils overhauled and fitted; and all was bustle and preparation.

The tenders for the period of the fort’s occupation (1837-1853) were analysed (Figure 2.30). Fort Double Drift was fortunate in that a commissariat office was located at the fort. A significant portion of the trade conducted at the fort was handled by the commissariat department. This procedure was standard at all the fortifications across the frontier as the fortifications were maintained through the intricate tender process (Coetzee 1994: 305).

Contract for Laborers.

THE Respective Officers of Her Majesty's Ordnance hereby give notice that they will receive Tenders on or before 12 o'clock at NOON on WEDNESDAY, the 30th instant, from such persons as may be willing to furnish as may be required by the Royal Engineer Department; Laborers, European, Fingo, or Kaffers, styled Natives and Hottentots, or other superior natives, for the Public Service on this Frontier for seven Months, commencing 1st September next, and ending 31st March 1844, at the under-mentioned Posts or in constructing or repairing Roads between any of the under-mentioned Posts, viz:—

Graham's Town,	Fort Beaufort,
Fort Brown,	Tarka Post,
Double Drift,	Post Relief,
Committay's Drift,	Fort Armstrong,
Trumpeters Drift,	Botha's Post,
Fort Peddie,	

The Tenders will specify the rate per day of each description of Laborers, viz.—European, native, or superior native, and for which of the above mentioned places the Tenders are made.

For further particulars enquire at the Royal Engineer Offices at Graham's Town, or Fort Beaufort, where the conditions of the Contract to be entered into may be seen.

Office of Ordnance,
Graham's Town, 21st August, 1843.

Commissariat.

STRAW.

TENDERS will be received at this Office until 12 o'clock on MONDAY, the 12th February next, from such persons as may be willing to furnish and deliver the undermentioned quantities of STRAW for the Public Service at the following places, viz.:—

At Graham's Town,	8,400 lbs.,	at per 100 lbs.
Fort Beaufort,	7,896 lbs.,	"
Double Drift,	768 lbs.,	"
Committay's Drift,	1,728 lbs.,	"
Fort Brown,	1,488 lbs.,	"
Fort Armstrong,	2,832 lbs.,	"

G. C. SANFORD,
Act.-Asst.-Com.-Gen.

Commissariat Office,
Graham's Town, 1st Feb., 1838.

a)
b)

Commissariat.

TENDERS will be received, at this Office, until 12 o'clock on **WEDNESDAY** next, the 5th September, from such persons as may be willing to supply Oat Hay for the Public Service, at Fort Peddie and Double Drift.

GEO. C. SANFORD,
Act.-Asst.-Com.-Gen.

Commissariat Office, Graham's Town, Aug. 29, 1838.

COMMISSARIAT.

SUPPLIES FOR 1840-7.

TENDERS will be received at this Office until 12 o'clock on **WEDNESDAY**, the 10th day of February next, from such persons as may be willing to furnish Supplies for Her Majesty's Troops and others receiving Ration: from the Commissariat on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape of Good Hope for a period of twelve months, commencing on the 1st of April next and ending on the 31st March, 1847, viz:—

- 1st.—To supply Bread from wheaten Meal of the best quality, from which 2 7th part has been extracted as bran or pollard, at per 100 lbs. English weight.
- 2nd.—To supply Fresh Meat of the best quality, 5-7ths Beef and 2-7th Mutton per week (except at those Posts where the number of rations issued being comparatively few, the daily consumption of meat may militate against slaughtering of cattle—at per 100 lbs. English weight.
- 3rd.—To supply Fuel Wood of the best quality and of the dimensions usually sold in the market—at per 1000 lbs. English weight.
- 4th.—To supply Tallow Candles of the best quality (dips and moulds in the regulated proportions) at per 100 lbs. English weight,—at all the undermentioned Posts either collectively for the whole, or separately from Nos. 1 to 10, and Nos. 11 to 24, or for each severally, viz:—

<p>District No. 1.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.—Graham's Town, including Fort England, Broadly, & Cape Corps Barracks. 2.—Fort Brown. 3.—Double Drift. 4.—Committee's Drift. 5.—Trompeter's Drift. 6.—Cawood's Post. 7.—Bathurst. 8.—Fort Peddie. 9.—The several Signal Towers, also such as may be erected during the year. 10.—The Camps of all Road Parties as may be employed from time to time during the year. 	<p>District No. 2.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11.—Fort Beaufort. 12.—Post Victoria. 13.—Botha's Post. 14.—Goonapoe Drift. 15.—Howes's Post. 16.—Blinkwater Post. 17.—Mancakana Post. 18.—Tyume Post. 19.—Fort Armstrong. 20.—Eiland's River Post. 21.—Post Relief. 22.—Tarka Post. 23.—The several Signal Towers, also such as may be erected during the year. 24.—The Camps of all Road Parties as may be employed from time to time during the year.
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Samples of the Bread and Candles will be required, the former to be accompanied by a quantity of not less than 10 lbs. weight of the Meal from which it has been baked.

Tenders as above will be received by Mr. Commissariat Clerk WILLIAMS at the Commissariat Office at Port Elizabeth until the period specified for the service at that station.

Payment for the above when the amount may be £50 or upwards, will be made in Bills at par on the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury.

Each Tender to be accompanied by an Instrument in duplicate (forms of which may be had at this, or the Commissariat Offices at Fort Beaufort and Port Elizabeth) binding the party under a penalty well and duly to perform the stipulations contained in the Tender, should it be accepted.

Any further information may be obtained on application at any of the offices above-mentioned.

JAMES D. WATT, Asst. Com. Gen.

Commissariat Office,
Graham's Town, 19th Jan. 1846.

Commissariat.

Transport for the year 1846—47.

TENDERS will be received at this Office until 12 o'clock, ON **WEDNESDAY**, the 4th day of March next, from such persons as may be willing to furnish, as may be required by this Department,

TRANSPORT

for the Public Service on this Frontier, for twelve months, commencing on the 1st of April next, and ending the 31st of March, 1847.

- 1st. For Wagons with a pair of Horses each, and driver, for day work at or in the vicinity of Graham's Town, at par d'm, the time being the working hours of the Royal Engineer Department.
- N.B.—It is probable that two Wagons of this description will be required continuously for the first 6 months of the contract, and one at least for the remaining time.
- 2nd. For a Horse, with harness and driver, for a water or other Cart, as above.
- 3rd. For Ox Wagons, complete in all respects, with spans to the extent of 18 effective Oxen, if required driver, leader, and regulate gear: for spans of 10 or 18 oxen, as may be required, with driver, leader, and gear; and for pairs of Oxen, with driver and gear, to be employed at or in the vicinity of all or any of the undermentioned Stations, at per hour, viz:—

<p>District No. 1.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Graham's Town. 2. Fort Brown. 3. Double Drift. 4. Committee's Drift. 5. Trompeter's Drift. 6. Cawood's Post. 7. Bathurst. 8. Fort Peddie. 9. At the several Signal Towers, also at such as may be erected during the year. 10. At the Camps of all road parties as may be employed from time to time during the year. 	<p>District No. 2.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. Fort Beaufort. 12. Post Victoria. 13. Botha's Post. 14. Goonapoe Drift. 15. Howes's Post. 16. Blinkwater Post. 17. Mancakana Post. 18. Tyume Post. 19. Fort Armstrong. 20. Eiland's Post. 21. Post Relief. 22. Tarka Post. 23. At the several Signal Towers, also at such as may be erected during the year. 24. At the camps of all road parties as may be employed from time to time during the year.
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- 4th. For Wagons as above, for work from Graham's Town to Port Beaufort, and all the out posts in districts No. 1 and 2, including long (or timber) Wagons, when required, at per trip, and for return loads.
- 5th. Do. from Port Beaufort to Graham's Town, and all the out-posts in Districts No. 1 and 2, including long (or timber) Wagons when required, at per trip, and for return loads.
- 6th. Do. from Graham's Town to Port Elizabeth, at per trip, and for return loads.
- 7th. Do. from Beaufort to Port Elizabeth at per trip, and for return loads.
- 8th. From Graham's Town and from Port Beaufort to Colesberg, at per trip, and for return loads.
- 9th. For pairs of Oxen, with driver, specially for tramping clay, at any of the beforementioned posts at which the same may be required, at per day.

Each Tender to be accompanied by an instrument, in duplicate (forms for which may be had at this or the Commissariat Offices at Fort Beaufort and Port Elizabeth), binding the parties under a penalty well and duly to perform the stipulations contained in the Tender should it be accepted.

Payment for the above, when the amount may be fifty pounds or upwards, will be made in bills at par on the Right Honourable the Lord Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury.

Any further information required may be obtained on application at any of the above mentioned offices.

JAMES D. WATT, Asst. Com. Gen.

Commissariat Office,
Graham's Town, 12th Feb., 1846.

Figure 2.30: Tender Requests in *The Graham's Town Journal* Specific to Fort Double Drift.

a) Laborers (1 February 1838); b) Straw (12 December 1839), c) Oat Hay (30 August), d) Bread and Candles (24 January 1846), e) Transport (14 February 1846).

2.4 CONCLUSION

Funari (1999: 44) cautions against generalising that historical artefacts were produced solely for being commodities in the early 19th century (see also Schmidt 2006). The glass and metal arriving in the Cape Colony, over the first decade of the colonies existence, can however be viewed in this way. Both materials formed part of a long list of newly imported items actively brought into the market in the Eastern Cape.

However, as the quantities of these materials increased, and their use became common place throughout the trade network radiating from the Cape, the value of the artefacts changed. Trade introduced these products to the population groups at the Cape. Through their usage, and the subsequent orders placed for more of these items, the glass and metal became more than just the products that reminded the Settlers of their homes. These were now a part of the economy of the Eastern Cape. In the next four chapters these relationships will be explored, first individually at each of the research sites, then comparatively, to determine how agency and structure enabled the groups to identify with, and incorporate, the two artefact assemblages into their economy and lives.

3 CHAPTER 3: HUNTLEY STREET GLASS AND METAL ARTEFACT ANALYSIS

"The District of Albany must unquestionably be regarded more as a trading station than as an agricultural or pastoral country. It is to commerce alone that it is indebted for its existence at the present day..." ...The Graham's Town Journal, 1834.

In the first half of the 19th century Grahamstown's predominantly military population was augmented by local groups and the arrival of a large group of British immigrants. By 1823 the population make-up had changed to a combination of soldiers, wealthy landowners and defunct farmers who had returned to the town to resume their original occupation as tradesmen. It was this new population that agitated for an expanded range of produce and merchandise.

The immigrants sought familiarity and goods that reminded them of their home. The local population benefited from an increased exposure to a wider variety of imported goods. Also, with the prospect of lucrative contracts to supply the military, and an opportunity to facilitate the expansion of trade across the frontier, the residents of Grahamstown willingly embraced a commercial role in addition to their military role (Bryer & Hunt 1984: 60; Butler 1970b: 9; Marshall 2008: 2, 15, 20).

It was for this reason that Jeppson (2005) chose to include the Huntley Street archaeological site in her research so that the artefacts could provide a control assemblage for the 'supply centre' that Grahamstown would become in the economy of the Eastern frontier. Huntley Street also functions as a control sample for Farmerfield and Fort Double Drift. The changing social dynamics of the town influenced the way in which these population groups interacted with and impacted upon each other. Furthermore, these social changes influenced the economy and material culture of the town.

The location of the Huntley Street site, inside Grahamstown, and close to the main street running through the town, enabled this site to be interpreted in various ways. Jeppson (2005) interpreted the site as the town's dump. However, because

the site was situated north of the Cowie Creek, and near to High Street, it can be linked indirectly to the homes and businesses of the town.

Researchers like LeeDecker (1994) focused on households. He saw the home as the basic economic unit within which consumption occurs and debated whether it was practical to use a household as the primary unit of analysis when studying consumer behaviour. Consumption patterns of households also change during the lifespan of the home and are influenced by factors ranging from income to availability. If use and discard can be analysed at the level of a single household it is also possible to extrapolate this to analyse the use and discard patterns in a town.

Dumping practices and areas of discard also served to highlight consumer purchases. This is significant in a town, like Grahamstown, where residents opened businesses in their homes. Brown (1999: 152-153) established that rubbish deposits represent only a fraction of the total material received in a town. The author compared goods listed in customs accounts, like port books, and quantified them according to the number of ships recorded as carrying these commodities. Jeppson (2005: 178) felt this was negligible at Huntley Street. She felt that the artefacts from trash dumps could be productively utilised at a “larger level of scale of analysis without the problems incurred by the loss of primary context.” She felt that provenience was determined at “the level of scale of the site itself.”

Staski (1984) also found that that the duration of dumping could be measured, and the approximate number of people involved in forming a backyard trash deposit could be known. Hall et al's (1990) work at the Barrack Street Well further emphasized the information that could be gleaned from the backyard deposit in a well for a household occupied by middle class traders. The material excavated related to the household and the occupation of the residents.

During her research Jeppson (2005) completed two excavations at Huntley Street in two consecutive years. The first unit, completed in 1987,²⁰ was excavated stratigraphically to a depth of 2.27 m before the water table was reached. The second excavation, completed in 1988, was located further away from the creek bed and 17 m downstream from the first excavation. This unit was abandoned at a depth of 1.57 m when the context of the unit was disturbed by a sewer pipe. Modern sediment was visible above the pipe and intact 19th-century material was visible below the pipe in the exposed section (Jeppson 2005: 138).

The glass at Huntley Street is closely tied to the economic transactions of the town and recycling is also visible. The metal assemblage provides information on the physical development of the town. Grahamstown underwent a building boom to accommodate the increased population. The by-products of this construction and the subsequent new business it bolstered are visible in the metal artefact assemblage. Although the exact location of the Huntley Street excavations is unclear, the area surrounding High Street was pivotal to the planned layout of the town. In the remainder of this chapter the layout of the town, and the analysis of the glass and metal found at Huntley Street, is discussed.

3.1 THE LAYOUT OF THE TOWN AND HOW IT INFLUENCED HIGH STREET AND HUNTLEY STREET

The layout of the town was strongly influenced by both the military and civilian history of the town. The first town plan for Grahamstown was drawn up by J Knobel in 1814 (Figure 3.1). The proposed location for High Street was carefully measured in along with the proposed locations for the houses. On the eastern side of High Street, the position of the men's huts across this road, and the position of the river, influenced the path of the main road in the town.

²⁰ The 1987 unit measured 1 m x 1.5 m in size and was terminated at a depth of 2.27 m when the water table was reached.

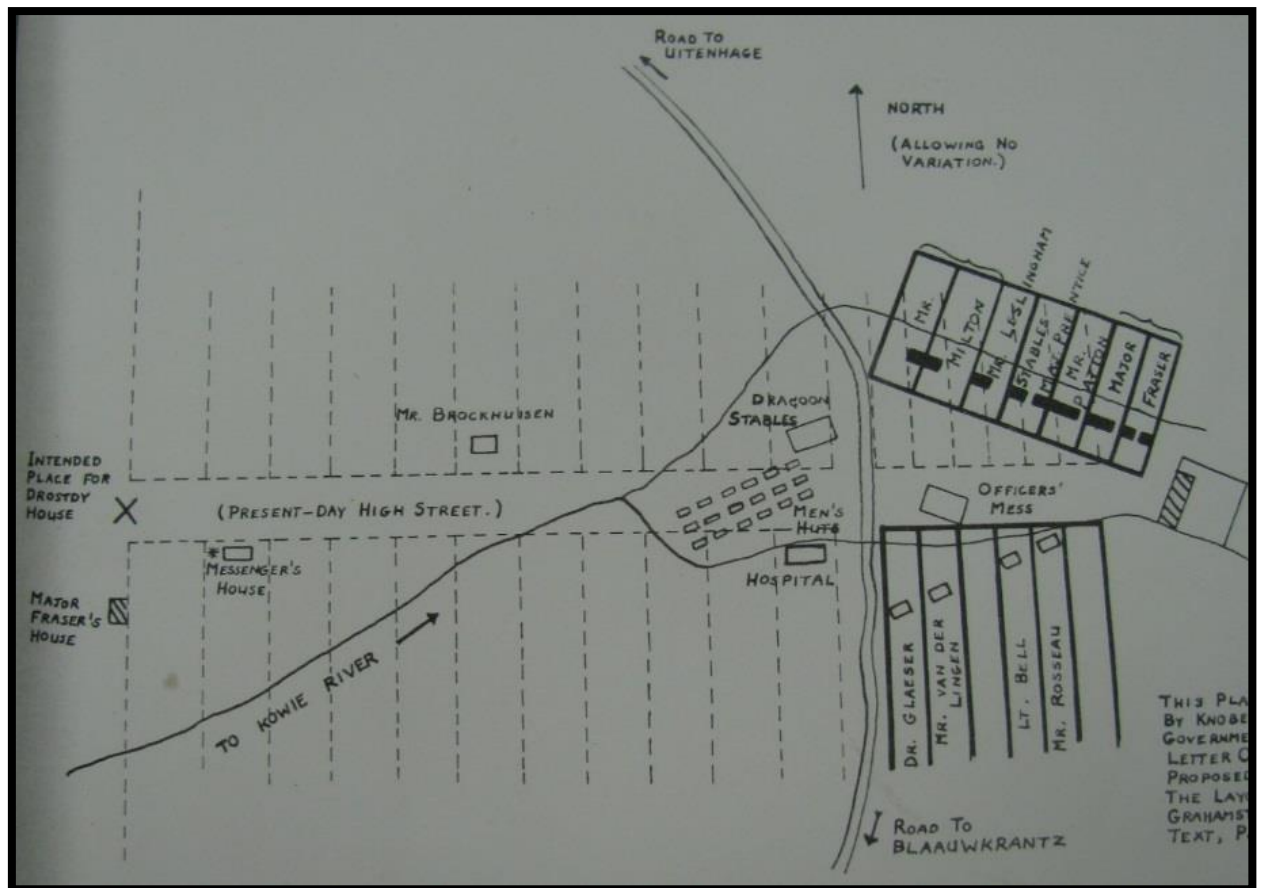


Figure 3.1: Plan of Grahamstown in 1814 (Scott 1987: Between 115-116).

The second plan of Grahamstown, drawn in 1820, shows how the military buildings and civilian buildings were merged into a cohesive town plan. The civilian houses were initially laid out along High Street and New Street. However, when the town expanded the civilian buildings and the business districts became intertwined and skilled labourers started to work from shops situated above or next to their homes (see also Marshall 2008).

Huntley Street was already part of the layout of the town as early as 1820 (Scott 1987). Figure 3.2 shows how the *erfen* sizes of the building lots south of High Street were altered to avoid the course of the river. This left a broad path behind the back lots of the homes in High Street. The next set of housing lots were laid out south of the river bank and Captain Traffe's lot was slanted to the east to parallel the river bank.

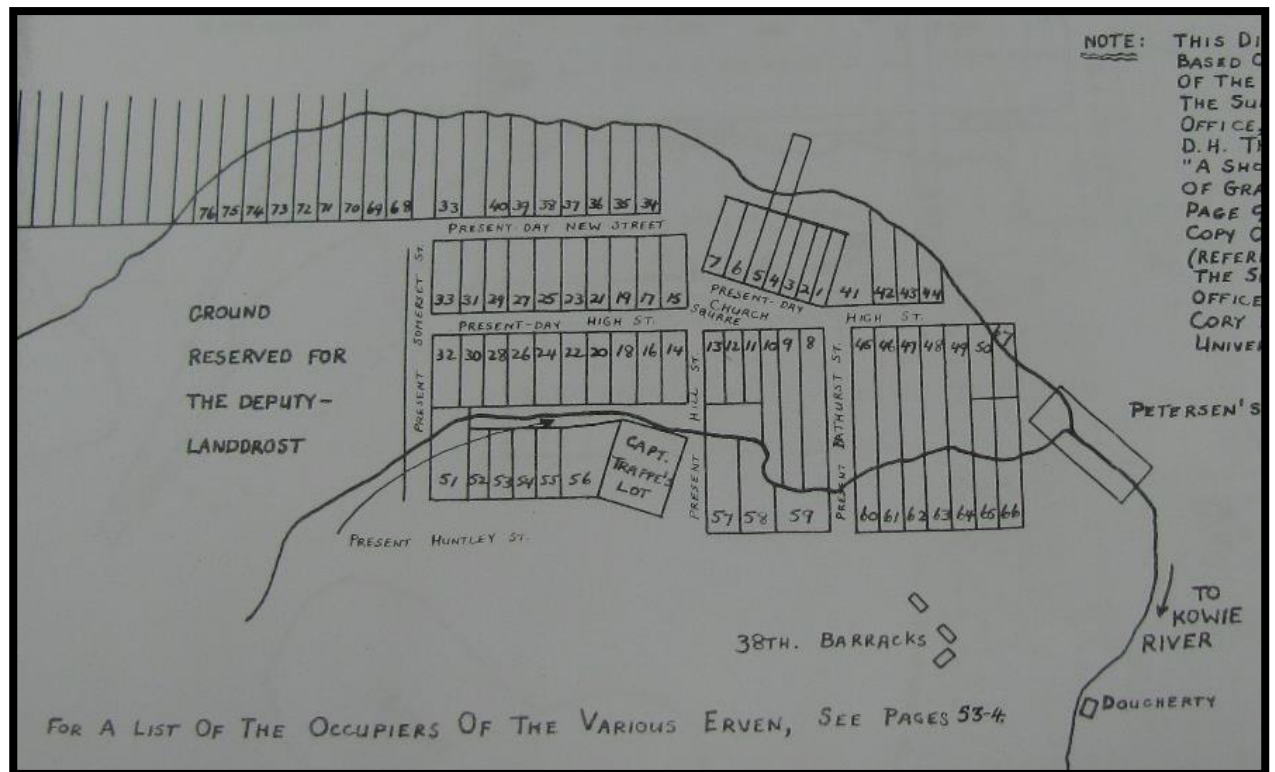


Figure 3.2: Plan of Grahamstown in 1820 (Cory Library 3739).

Significantly both excavations for Huntley Street were completed above the north bank of the river. This appears to indicate that the residents north of the river may have viewed the river bank as demarcating their homes from the new lots south of the river. This may also indicate that the people would have felt justified to utilise this area as a public recreation area or a possible dump site (Figure 3.3). Thornley Smith's lithograph, drawn in 1842, shows that even at this later date the area was kept in its natural state (Figure 3.4).

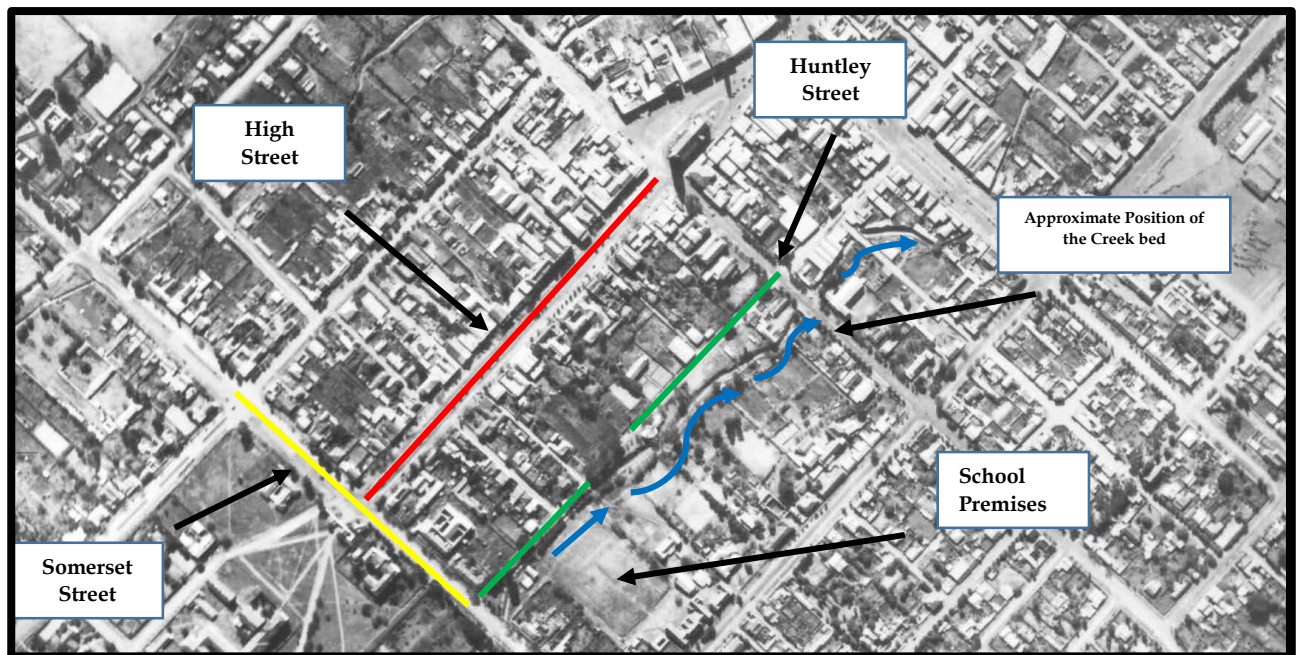


Figure 3.3: Plan of the City of Grahamstown (Cory Library MP 754) (Arrows and Labels Added).

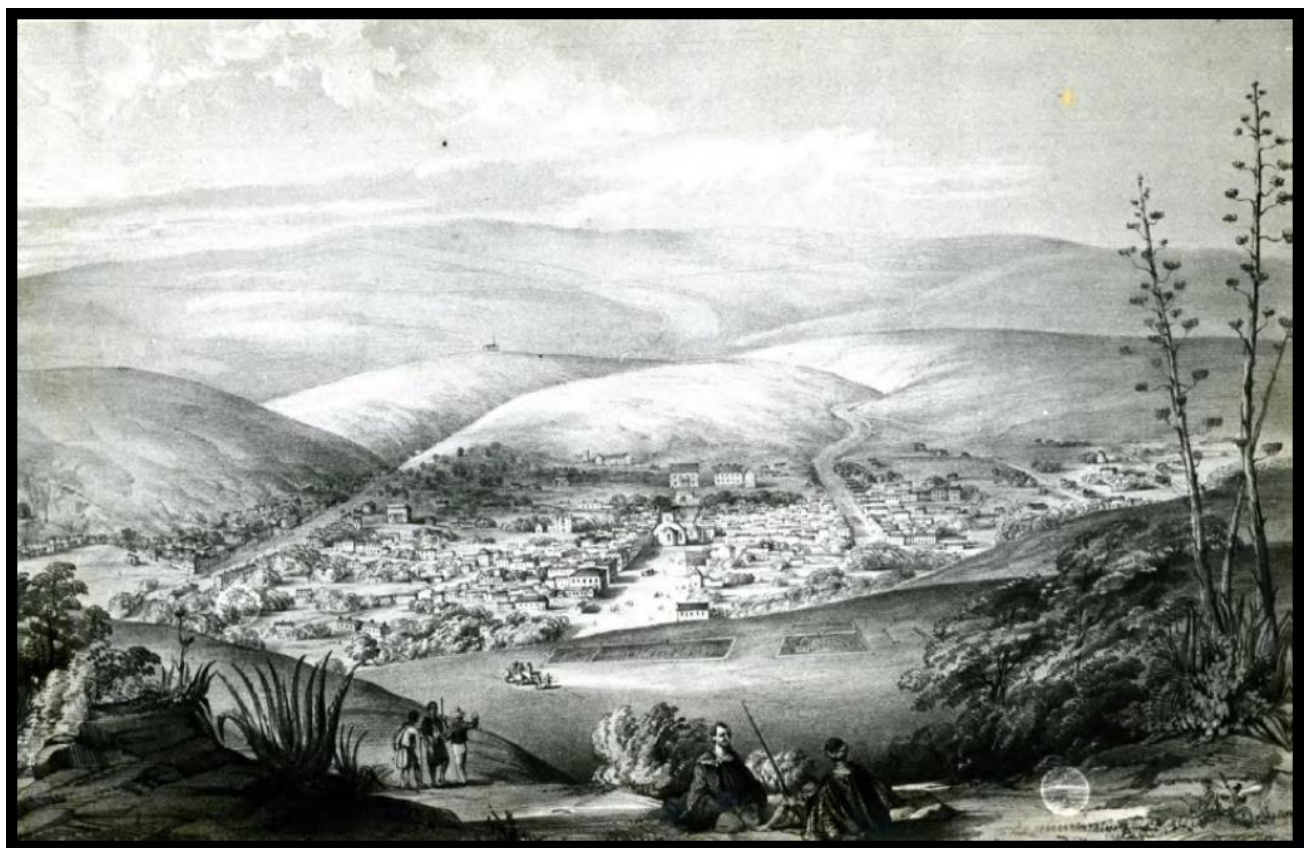


Figure 3.4: Lithograph of Grahamstown Drawn by Reverend Thornley Smith (Reproduced in Marshall 2008:59).

The original *erfen* size in Grahamstown measured 50 by 50 paces (approximately 38.1 m by 38.1 m) (Scott 1987: 140). Cole (1852: 153-154) describes the *erfen* in the following way:

The streets are immensely broad, and the houses generally built with large spaces between them and garden behind: so that it would be quite possible to treble the number of houses without enlarging the municipal limits: it only contains about six thousand inhabitants and as many hundred houses.

This size was reduced to 35 to 40 feet (between 10.6 m and 12.1 m) in the 1840s when the commercial and residential characteristics of the town changed (Scott 1987: 140,142). Because of these changes the position of the houses within the *erfen* also changed. Thomas Baines' painting (Figure 3.5) clearly shows the position of the houses on either side of High Street. The painting appears to indicate that the houses were built right in the front of the building lot, flush with the road, leaving a substantial part of the *erfen* open behind the houses.

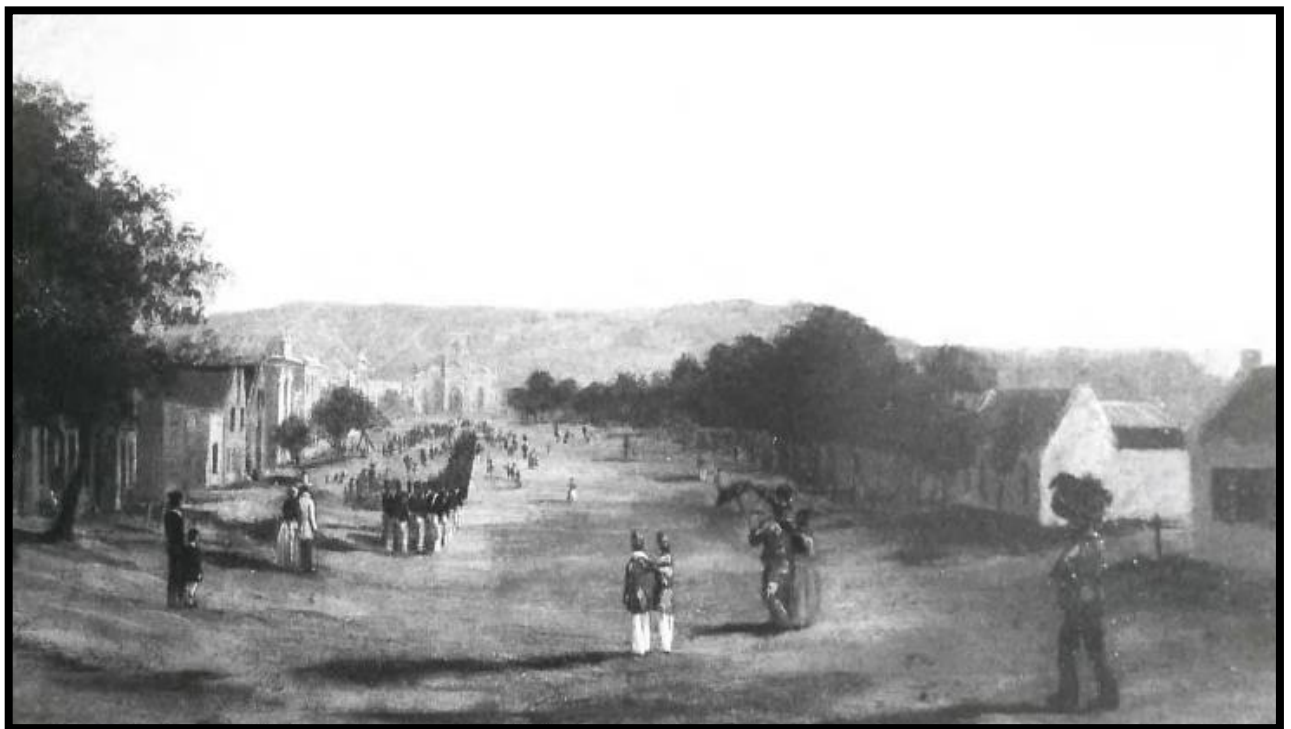


Figure 3.5: High Street Seen from the West Side, Painting by Thomas Baines (Reproduced in Scott 1987: 272 Vol II).

PUBLIC SALE
OF
LANDED PROPERTY
IN THE
Most Valuable part of Graham's Town.
M^r. THOMAS STUBBS has instructed the undersigned to sell by
Public Auction
ON
MONDAY,
The 29th INST.
His
HOUSE and LAND,
Situated at the entrance to High-street,
BEING IN EXTENT
79 square Rods and 98 square feet of Land,
possessing frontages in High-street and in Somerset-Street.

One of the Lots in HIGH-STREET contains a convenient DWELLING HOUSE, consisting of about SEVEN ROOMS, with Stabling and other conveniences—having for many years been the family residence of the proprietor.

It would be almost superfluous to give any lengthened comment—no, not a small idea of the value of Land in that locality can be conveyed to the mind of the reader. It is usually sold by auction, and to be appreciated it must be seen. View it in whatever character you please, the same advantages present themselves—the like inducements offer. For instance—as a place of business it stands without a rival, being within a hundred yards of the Commissariat Quarters and Offices—as well as at the door-way or entrance from the great Bazaar of the Eastern Province. Witness it again as a stand for an HOTEL, and where would you find its equal—seeing that travellers must pass the door in visiting the town, and it is not likely the weary pilgrim would pass the spot where rest may be found, and run the risk of going farther and faring worse. Do you want a private FAMILY RESIDENCE—away from the noise and bustle of the town, and here again your wants shall be supplied—for the lots which are about to be sold are so far removed from the focus of business as to partake somewhat of retirement, and are only a few yards from the Broudy Ground—the anticipated residence of the Governor-General—the Lot in Somerset-street actually facing Gen. Cathcart's dwelling. Perhaps it would be difficult to find another property possessing such varied advantages—and as it is of considerable extent, it is intended to divide the same into

Three Lots,
The PLAN and SIZE of which are here annexed:—

P A S S A G E			
37-6	No. 3.		37-6
71-6	No. 1.	No. 2.	17-6
54-9		46-3	
H I G H S T R E E T			
J. LAWRENCE, Auctioneer.			

SOMERSET-STREET

Figure 3.6: Auction Announcement (The Graham's Town Journal 19 February 1853).

There is no evidence of a designated area for dumping on these old plans of the town. Also, the town layout does not indicate a natural space designated for a park and recreation area. The only open spaces near High Street appear to be along the riverbank.

Figure 3.6 is an advertisement for the public sale of a plot of land on the corner of High Street and Somerset Street. This confirms what Cole (1852) stated above, that the *erfen* were large enough to treble the number of homes on each building lot. As already seen in Figure 3.3 above Somerset Street runs at right angles to the modern-day location of Huntley Street. The diagram at the bottom of this advertisement indicates that the area now known as Huntley Street was at that time a passage that ran behind the *erfen* in High Street. This passage appears to run from Somerset along the back of the High Street homes. It is possible that the passage mentioned in the advertisement might have been a thoroughfare along the river bank.

3.2 HIGH STREET BUSINESSES

In order to establish some context for the artefacts excavated at Huntley Street it was important to ascertain which businesses traded in High Street between 1820 and 1860. Scott's (1987) research on the urban history and material culture of the homes in Grahamstown included an analysis of the social hierarchy evident in the town. A breakdown of the Grahamstown Directory published in 1843 and 1853 formed part of this analysis. The directory provided information on the occupants of the majority of the homes in Grahamstown. The records were arranged by street name, occupant and occupation.

While it is acknowledged that this record may be incomplete both lists were edited to focus only on the premises in High Street. Along with the names and occupations of the people resident in the street during this two-year period it was also possible to glean information on the schools, churches and businesses located in High Street during this time. While there are no entries in the Directory for Huntley Street the record is still important. The main reason for this is that many people worked from their homes or had work premises in the same street where they lived.

The annotated entries for High Street are attached below (Table 3.1 and Table 3.2). Table 3.3 summarises examples of the advertisements drawn from *The Graham's Town Journal* for businesses located in High Street. It is evident from the entries in this table that date to the same years as the Grahamstown Directory that the two documentary records complement each other to provide a clearer and more complete picture of the businesses in the town during the period of this research.

Table 3.1: Grahamstown Directory 1843-Reflecting Entries for High Street.

Graham's Town Directory -1843		
<u>Street Name</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
High Street	Grahamstown Journal Offices	
High Street	Bell, E.R.	Agent
High Street	King, C.R.	Agent
High Street	Taylor, Ed	Apothecary
High Street (Rear of)	Jennings, J.	Attorney
High Street	Hope, W.M.	Baker
High Street	Wheldon, John	Blacksmith
High Street	Cawood, J.	Butcher
High Street	Lee, W (Jnr)	Butcher
High Street	Stanton, William Jnr	Butcher
High Street	Golding & Pike	Butchers
High Street	Stanton & Co	Butchers
High Street	Smith, Richard	Canteen Keeper
High Street	Legg, H.J.	Carpenter
High Street	Sparkes, Henry (Snr)	Carpenter
High Street	Moss, S.	Chair maker
High Street	Lawrence, Charles.	Chairmaker
High Street	Cole, F.H.	Chemist & Druggist
High Street	Kock, J.W.	Clerk
High Street	Stone, James	Clerk
High Street	Davis, HL & Co.	Coffee House
High Street		Commissariat Offices
High Street	Fletcher, W.A.	Confectioner & Baker
High Street	Johnstone, Mrs	Dealer
High Street	Atherstone, John	District Surgeon
High Street	Godlonton, Robert	Editor
High Street	Heavyside, Rev J.	Episcopalian Minister
High Street	Lee, W (Snr)	General Agent
High Street	Nourse, Henry.	General Agent
High Street	Caldecott, A.T.	Grocer
High Street	Finlayson, Mrs	Hotel Keeper
High Street	Ogilvie, W.	Ironmonger

Graham's Town Directory -1843		
<u>Street Name</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
High Street	Anderson, W.M. Son & Co.	Merchant
New Street & High Street	Black, James	Merchant
High Street & Beaufort Street	Blaine, Henry	Merchant
High Street	Mehfaster, Joseph	Merchant
High Street	Meurant, L.H.	Merchant
High Street	Nelson, E.	Merchant
High Street	Norton, John & Co	Merchant
High Street	Thompson, William Rowland	Merchant
High Street	Levick, Sherman & Kift	Merchants
High Street	Maynard, C & H.	Merchants
High Street	Stein & Killian	Merchants
High Street	Shaw, W.	Minister
High Street (Rear of)	Costello	No Occupation Listed
High Street	Paxton, David.	No Occupation Listed
High Street	Smith, Richard, J.	No Occupation Listed
High Street	Jarvis, George	Notary Public
1 High Street	Atherstone, Guybon	Physician
High Street	Whiley, G.	Printer
High Street	Douglass, John	Saddler
High Street	Stubbs, Thomas.	Saddler
High Street	Smith, William. Collins.	Shoemaker
High Street	Benjamin (Widow)	Shopkeeper
High Street	Bertram, J.	Shopkeeper
High Street	Symmons, John	Shopkeeper
High Street	Urry, Mrs	Shopkeeper
High Street (Rear of)	Hancock, R.	Stone Mason
High Street	Kift, E.L.	Store Keeper
High Street	Fuller, Charles.	Storekeeper
High Street	Mc Master & Pakenham	Storekeeper
High Street	Nicol, Widow	Storekeeper
High Street	Pote, C.	Storekeeper
High Street	West, Widow	Storekeeper

Graham's Town Directory -1843		
<u>Street Name</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
High Street	Wright, John Cecil	Storekeeper
High Street	Lamont, James	Tailor
High Street	Orchard, Henry	Tailor
High Street	Mc Master & Lamont	Tailors & Habit makers
High Street	Shepherd, William	Tallow-Chandler
High Street	Shepherd & Harley	Tallow-Chandler
High Street	Crouch, Richard	Tanner
High Street	Latham, J.	Town Clerk
High Street	Rhodes, Charles.	Watchmaker
High Street & New Street	Rhodes, J	Watchmaker
High Street	Roulstone, R.	Watchmaker
High Street	Boyce, Rev. W.B.	Wesleyan Minister
High Street	Trollip, J. (Jnr)	Wheelwright
High Street	Mc Naughton	Widow
High Street	Mc Master, James	Wine & Spirit Merchant
High Street	Haupt & Brothers	Wine & Spirit Merchants

Table 3.2: Grahamstown Directory 1853-Reflecting Entries for High Street.

Graham's Town Directory -1853		
<u>Street Name</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Occupation/Business</u>
High Street	Albany Library	
High Street	Albany Lodge	
High Street (Rear of)	Alms Houses (St George)	
High Street	Cape Frontier Times Offices	
High Street	Chapel-Wesleyan (Commemorative & Native)	
High Street	Masonic Lodge	
High Street	Vaccine Institute	
High Street	Taylor, E.T.	Apothecary
High Street	Cole, F.H.	Apothecary & Postmaster
High Street	Jarvis, George	Attorney
High Street	Stone, J.J.H.	Attorney
High Street	Pote, C.	Auctioneer
High Street	Cross, Widow	Baker
High Street	Jaffray, John	Bookbinder
High Street	Passmore, T.E.	Builder

<u>Graham's Town Directory -1853</u>		
<u>Street Name</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Occupation/Business</u>
High Street	Cawood Brothers	Butcher
High Street	Swan, John	Butcher
High Street	Webb, Robert	Butcher
High Street	Rorke, J.	Cabinet Maker
High Street	Jones, Charles	Carpenter
High Street	Latham, Charles	Carpenter
High Street	Sanford, Henry	Carpenter
High Street (Rear of)	Trumble/Trimble, J.	Chapel Keeper
High Street	Copeland, W.	Clerk
High Street	Crump II	Clerk
High Street	Foley, J.	Clerk
High Street	Huntley, C.H.	Clerk
High Street	Moore, H.T.	Clerk
High Street	Pike	Clerk
High Street	Scott, W.H.H.	Clerk
High Street	Taylor, A.	Clerk
High Street	Larter, Samuel	Clubman
High Street	Somerset, Lt-Col H.	CMR Commandant
High Street		Commissariat Offices
High Street	Fletcher, W.A.	Confectioner & Baker
High Street		Court House
High Street	Fordrod, J.	Draper
High Street	Shepperson, B.M.	Draper
High Street	Leary, Miss	Dressmaker
High Street	Fuller, II	Farmer
High Street	Knott, K.	Farmer
High Street	Marshall, Edward	Farmer
High Street	Nourse, Henry.	Freeholder
High Street	Dell, S	Furniture Warehouse Proprietor
High Street	Haw, E.	General Agent
High Street	Holland, R.	General Agent
High Street	Stone, R.G.	General Agent

Graham's Town Directory -1853		
Street Name	Occupant	Occupation/Business
High Street	Stubbs, Thomas.	Government Contractor
High Street	Taylor, Joseph	Grocer
High Street	George, W.M.	Hotelkeeper
High Street	Hyde, Alexander	Inn Keeper
High Street	Haw & Co.	Iron Mongers
High Street	Ogilvie, W.	Ironmonger
High Street	Parker, J.	Ironmonger
High Street	Wood, W.M.	Ironmonger
High Street	Lamb, Frederick	Labourer
High Street	Larney, John	Labourer
High Street	Prendergrast	Labourer
High Street (Rear of)	Trumble	Labourer
High Street	Whibdy, W.M.	Labourer
High Street	Cawood, Samuel	Merchant
High Street	Cumming, George	Merchant
High Street	Krohn, N.P.	Merchant
High Street	Mc Master, Joseph	Merchant
High Street	Nicholls, G.J.	Merchant
High Street	Thompson, William Rowland	Merchant
High Street	Anderson, W.M, , Kennerley and Co.	Merchants
High Street	Blaine Brothers	Merchants
High Street	Cawood Brothers	Merchants
High Street	Heideman & Co	Merchants
High Street	Pakenham & Frames	Merchants
High Street	Wood, Geo, Snr	Merchants
High Street	Wood & Sons	Merchants
High Street	Bank, E.P.	No Occupation Listed
High Street	Kensit, W.M.	No Occupation Listed
High Street	Potter, William	No Occupation Listed
High Street	Wright, W (Sen).	No Occupation Listed
High Street (Rear of)	Wood, John	No Occupation Listed
High Street	Ayliff, J.	Notary

Graham's Town Directory -1853		
<u>Street Name</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Occupation/Business</u>
High Street	Campbell, C.T.	Notary
High Street	Godlonton & White	Printers and Publishers
High Street	Douglass, John	Saddler
High Street	Powell, W.M.	Saddler
High Street	Sanders, Thomas G.	Saddler
High Street	Stubbs & Wallis	Saddler
High Street (Rear of)	Jaffray, John	School Master
High Street	Booy, Galant	Servant
High Street	Slinger, Christian	Servant
High Street	Farley, W.	Shoemaker
High Street	Reynolds, R.H.	Shoemaker
High Street	Collier, J.	Shop man
High Street	Benjamin, M.	Shopkeeper
High Street	Clapperton, H.	Shopkeeper
High Street	Durney, H.	Shopkeeper
High Street	Haw, W.M.	Shopkeeper
High Street	Munday, S.	Shopkeeper
High Street	Penny, Charles	Shopkeeper
High Street	Spark, R.	Shopkeeper
High Street (Rear of)	Hancock, R.	Stone Mason
High Street	Willmore, Gregory	Storekeeper
High Street	Box, Stephen	Storeman
High Street	Bright, J.	Storeman
High Street	Goold, J.	Storeman
High Street	Green, W.M.	Storeman
High Street	Krohn, P	Storeman
High Street	Welman, R.E.	Storeman
High Street	White, Andrew	Storeman
High Street	Dick, John	Tailor
High Street	Whitehead, Stephen	Tailor

Graham's Town Directory -1853		
Street Name	Occupant	Occupation/Business
High Street	Shepherd, J	Tallow-Chandler
High Street	Crouch, Richard & Son	Tanner
High Street	Dallas, John (Jnr)	Tinsmith
High Street	Hart, Joseph	Upholsterer
High Street	Galpin, Henry, C.	Watchmaker
High Street (Rear of)	King, P.	Wesleyan Chapel Keeper
High Street	Chapman, Rev G.	Wesleyan Minister
High Street	Mandy, S.D.	Wine Merchant
High Street	Lawrence, J.	Wine Merchant & Auctioneer

Table 3.3: Advertisements in *The Graham's Town Journal* for High Street Businesses.

GTJ Date	Business	Business Owner	Description of Location and Street	Description of any Glass or Metal Products Stocked by Store
6 January 1845	Baker, Confectioner	James Whiley	...a more central and convenient Premises, situated in Hill Street, two doors from his late Shop	Ginger Beer by Wholesale and Retail...Lemonade, Lemon Syrup and Soda Water
16 November 1843	Butcher	J Collings	High Street (Late W Stanton)	Meat of the Very Best Description
12 May 1849	Colonial Grocery and Provisions Store	Pakenham & Frames	Corner of High and Hill Street	None specified
30 November 1843	Confectioner & Baker	David Paxton	High Street	Jams...Preserves...Pickle Sauces...Mustard...Ginger Beer...Lemonade...Soda Water
23 December 1841	General Dealer	John H Dixon	Stores of J Paskin in High Street	Fresh Direct Teas...Coffee...Flour...Tobacco...English Soap
12 November 1842	General Dealer	Mr E.R. Bell	Store of Mr William Smith in High Street	Farming Stock...guns...pistols...wagons
22 May 1845	General Merchant	Samuel Rodolf	High-street Graham's Town, at the Store adjoining the Stores of Mr. M.B. Shaw, opposite the Eastern Produce Auction Mart	...well assorted goods
2 January 1840	Hat Establishment	Messrs McMaster & Lamont	High Street	Clothing
15 April 1848	New Establishment	A Shepperson's	Upon the Pleasant Walk in High Street	...Well-selected Stock
26 April 1851	Notary and Agent	Mr E. Haw	High Street	Transfers, Loans, Mortgages and Bonds, Debts Recovered
13 April 1850	Old established Butcher's Shop	Cawood Brothers	High Street	...meat of the very best quality
15 May 1845	Saddler & C	Thos. Joyce	High Street	...looking for an apprentice
26 Sept 1833	Saddlery Business	J. Douglas	Removed from Mr Ogilvie's House, to the opposite side of the High Street, adjoining Mrs Wathall's	...Spikes, Roses, Clasp and Horse-Shoe Nails, Tacks...
5 January 1843	School	Mr Kerr	High Street	School
23 July 1835	Solicitor	Alexander Anderson	Part of the House occupied by Messrs. R Wise Holliday & Co	Services
1 May 1845	Soups	Mr D. Paxton	High Street	Soups, Coffee, Grocery and Confectionery
10 June 1848	Tailor and Clothier	Mr J Dick	In Church-square, next the Post Office (sic)	None specified
5 June 1845	Wagon-Maker and Smith	John Meaker	Next door to Messrs. Cawood's Butcher's Shop, Somerset Street	None specified

3.3 GLASS ANALYSIS AT HUNTLEY STREET²¹

To facilitate the glass analysis for the site the two excavation units are subdivided into three separate sections. The unit completed in 1987 is analysed in two parts to focus on the glass dating from the research period. During the preliminary analysis of the material from the 1987-unit Jeppson (2005: 139-140) established that the nineteenth century material was first encountered at 0.83 m. A decision was taken in this research to divide the 1987 excavation unit at 1 m below the surface. This decision was based on the analysis of a single stratigraphic layer (46 cm to 1 m). All the glass from this layer post-dated the research period.

This was substantiated by Jeppson's (2005) own decision to utilise the following layers to complete the analysis of the nineteenth century materials in the first excavation unit: 1 m-1.16 m; 1.16 m-1.18 m; 1.18 m-1.27 m; 1.27 m-1.67 m; 1.67 m-1.72 m; 1.72 m-1.75 m; 1.75 m-1.95 m; 1.95 m-2.27 m. The second unit, completed in 1988, is not split. In this unit the depth of the respective layers is unknown and as such it cannot be established in which layer²² the 1 m transition between the early and later 19th century occurs.

Furthermore, as the depth of the 1988 unit was unclear, all the glass found in this unit was tentatively dated before being either included or excluded from this research. A decision was taken to complete the same type of analysis on the upper levels of the 1987 unit (between 0-1 m). All the diagnostic glass from these layers were also dated before being excluded from the analysis.

A total of 167 diagnostic fragments²³ were excavated from both the units (Table 3.4). There were an equal number of finish and base fragments excavated (n=48). However, 30 of the base fragments are diagnostic sherds that are too small to identify to a specific vessel. In comparison to this there are 15 finish fragments of commensurate size. There are 33 finish fragments (69% of the total) and 18 base

²¹ The nomenclature utilised for all glass analysis can be found in Appendix D.

²² The layers are designated by letters.

²³ The raw data for all three research sites is available upon request.

fragments (38% of the total) large enough to identify to specific glass typologies. There were 32 neck/shoulder or body fragments excavated and a total of 40.6% of the diagnostic fragments are embossed (n=13).

The glass excavated from the two units is representative of six main categories: alcoholic beverages, non-alcoholic beverages, medicinal glass, condiment bottles, tableware and window glass. The case/gin bottles were the largest category of alcoholic bottle glass excavated. The smallest category was the condiment bottle glass. All the glass found in the excavations can be traced in the advertisements in *The Graham's Town Journal*.

Table 3.4: Glass Summary for Huntley Street-All Locations (Including Embossed Fragments).

HUNTLEY STREET TOTAL	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder/ Body	Base	Finish	Lip/Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	%MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
CONTAINER/ BOTTLE													
Aqua/Clear	275	1359.43	34	889.74	10	5	10	6	3	10	30.3%	309	2249.17
Black	49	437.41	20	1219.82	0	4	3	2	11	3	9.1%	69	1657.23
Blue	7	24.05	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	7	24.05
Brown	3	18.61	1	119.93	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	4	138.54
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	191	492.06	7	46.96	3	1	2	1	0	2	6.1%	198	539.02
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	731	3983.62	41	1775.95	12	5	11	2	11	11	33.3%	772	5759.37
Light Blue	0	0.00	1	15.07	0	0	1	0	0	1	3.0%	1	15.07
Light Green	22	136.99	6	476.52	0	3	2	1	0	2	6.1%	28	633.51
Olive	71	429.82	16	287.79	5	0	3	3	5	3	9.1%	87	717.61
Pink	2	2.57	1	2.35	0	0	1	0	0	1	3.0%	3	4.92
Red	1	3.32	1	5.30	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	2	8.62
CLOSURES	0	0.00	6	43.26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	6	43.26
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	33	515.16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	33	515.16
WINDOW GLASS	115	182.18	0	0.00							0.0%	115	182.18
UNDIAGNOSTIC	27	134.78	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	27	134.78
TOTAL	1494	7224.84	167	5397.75	32	18	33	15	30	33	100.00%	1661	12622.59

There were 10 different glass colours²⁴ excavated at Huntley Street. Seven of these colours account for 100% of the glass fragments (Figure 3.7). Although a single light blue diagnostic finish was found no light blue glass fragments were excavated. The two predominant colours are dark green glass (54%) and aqua/clear glass (20%). A total of 27 undiagnostic fragments was also excavated.

²⁴ The glass colours for all three sites are Munselled in Appendix F.

These sherds could not be categorised as a specific colour since the fragments were vitrified after prolonged exposure to water. There are no complete²⁵ bottles in this glass assemblage and the largest diagnostic fragments (n=2) are between 59 mm and 95 mm in length. The diagnostic glass can be divided into four different categories: bottle glass, food preparation glass, tableware and window glass.

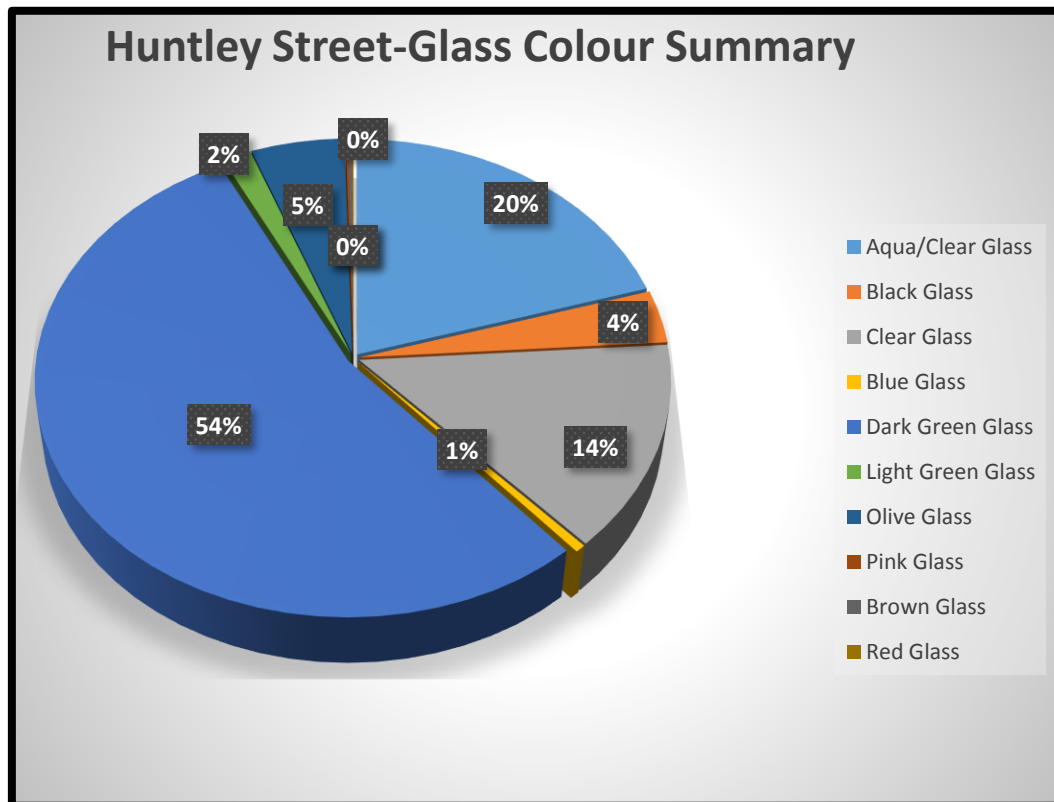


Figure 3.7: Glass Colour Summary-Huntley Street.

3.3.1 Bottle Glass

Bottle glass is the largest category of glass excavated at Huntley Street, accounting for 49.71% of the total diagnostic glass excavated at the site (n=83). The bottle glass can be further sub-divided into alcoholic beverages and non-alcoholic beverages. Case glass is the largest alcoholic beverage category and will be discussed separately while medicinal glass will be discussed with the non-alcoholic beverages.

²⁵ A complete bottle denotes a broken bottle that is we have all the pieces for or an unbroken bottle.

W. KIDSON,
IMPORTER OF AND DEALER IN
FOREIGN AND CAPE WINES AND SPIRITS,
BOTTLED ALES, PORTER,
AND
GROCERIES & OILMAN'S STORES,
Bathurst-Street.

BEGS to solicit the attention of his Friends and the Public to his well-assorted Stock of
WINE, SPIRITS, BEERS, GROCERIES and OILMAN'S STORES, which
he can recommend to their notice, as being of very **SUPERIOR QUALITY AND AT REASONABLE**
RATES.

<p>Foreign Spirits.</p> <p>Marshall's COGNAC, in wood, do. Pale do: 1 doz. cases, Du Cros' Pale do, 1 doz. do. Hessner's in wood, Hessner & Auborn's in 1 doz. Hessner Cognac, dark, wood. Du Cros' Pale in quarter casks, Jamaica RUM, in wood and bottles, Real Port Red WHISKEY, Robinson GIN, in 15 and 15 shak - cases, Spencer's Holland, in 1 gal. drake, Doth's noted OLD TOM.</p> <p>Foreign Wines.</p> <p>Darbar's superior PORT, in bottles, Hunt's do. do. do. Hessner's do. do. do. Smith & Son's do. do. do. do. in quarter casks, Smith's San Pale SHERRY, in bot- tles, do. do. Brown do. do. do. Golden do. Gordon's Pale, in bottle, Also in octaves, qr. casks, and hhds. East India MADEIRA, first quality in hogsheads and bottles, 15 years old, has been three voyages. East India MADEIRA, 2nd quality, MARSHALL, qr. casks and bottles. Very excellent RHINE HOCK, do. Sparkling do. Superior CHAMPAIGNE, in bot- tles, do. do. in cases, MUSCAT, in 1 doz. cases, MARSDEN, equal to Port, BARBAC, in 1 doz. cases, SATURN, in do.</p> <p>Clarets.</p> <p>St. Julian Medoc, St. Emelhoe (very fine) Chateau du Cross, Smith & Son's Burgundy.</p> <p>Liqueurs.</p> <p>Itambro' and German, in full-sized bottles and pints, Cherry Brandy, do. Cordial, Raspberry Brandy, do. Cordial.</p> <p>Ale, Porter, & Cider.</p> <p>Byass's noted Ale and Porter, Gilliekill & Down's, Bass' do. Trenman, Harburt's Porter in hhds. Very Brat East India Ale, in do. Royal Champaigne Cider, and Dyonschire do. in bottles, Dyonschire Perry, in do.</p>	<p>Cape Wines & Spirits.</p> <p>Vine old Madeira, do. old Sherry, extra, Hock, in 3 doz. cases and qr. casks, Stein and Stein Hock, Dry Focino (fine) Sweet do. Muscatel, Frontignac, Constatella (Close's) Real fine old Cape Brandy, Lime Juice, per half-hum or gallon.</p> <p>Groceries, &c.</p> <p>Mauritius Sugars, Brazil do. bright yellow Sugar do. in casks, Loaf Sugar, Caper Teas in 10 and 40 catty, Fine Orange Pekoe, Superior " " Pouchong, in catty packages, Fine Hyson Tea, Imperial Hyson, Twanky, in 40 catty, COFFEE, Rio and Java, Soy, yellow Black Starch, Steam Mill Flour, 1st and 2d, Meal, Raisins, Cape, loose and stalk, Superior Malaga (deserts) Turkey Figs in drums, French Plombs in tins, Currants, Pearl Barley, Split Peas, Rice, East India Ginger, Black Pepper, Cinnamon, Cloves, Jamaica Ginger, Sago, Basket Salt, Common do. Cayenne Pepper, Durham Mustard, Genoa Vermacelli, West Phalia Hams, Yorkshire do. Whitshire Bacon, Bath Bricks, Cheshire Cheese, Stilton do. Berkley's do. Cheddar do. English Sperm Candles, American " " Fresh Salmon in 1 gill jars, do. do. in 2 lb. tins, Fine fresh Red Herrings, 1 gall. jars " " Yarmouth Bloaters, in tins, Fine Florence, 80 flasks, in' case, Salad Oil, 1 dozen cases, Cross & Blackwell's,</p>	<p>Fresh Kent Hops, Manilla Cigars, Real Havana do, Cork, various qualities, Tobacco, Anchovies, Caport, French Raspberry Vinegar, Lusifer Matches.</p> <p>Pickles.</p> <p>West India Mixed Pickles, Piccalilli, Cauliflower, Onions, Cerkins, Walnuts, Red Cabbage, French Beans, &c.</p> <p>Sauces.</p> <p>John Bull, Harvey's, Reding, Browning, Kitchener's, Tormato, King Bengal, Oyster, Anchovy, Mushroom Ketchup, Walnut do. Paragon and Bhatol Vinegar, English Vinegar in bottles, from Cross & Blackwell's.</p> <p>Preserves.</p> <p>Orange Marmelede, Apricot do. Raspberry Jam, Strawberry do. Gooseberry do. Red Currant do. Black do. do. Damson do. Red Plum do. Red Currant Jelly, Black do. do. Strawberry do. Raspberry, &c. &c. Preserved Ginger, do. Chow Chow, Candied East India Citron, do. do. Ginger.</p> <p>Fruits.</p> <p>Cherries, Damoses, Plumbs, Rhubarb, Goswberries, Red Currants, Black do. Apples, Bullies.</p>
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Besides the above he has for Sale,
200 BAGS BRAZIL SUGARS, 100 BOXES YELLOW SOAP,
30 BALES BACON,
6 or 8 Rolls of excellent Brussels Carpetting,
3 or 4 Rolls of Printed Drugget,
150 two-gallon jars Linseed Oil.
do. do. do.

Officers on Detachment wanting supplies for their men will be supplied at Wholesale rate.
A Package of any Article, a Bottle, Box, or Chest sold. No Package broken, but all
sold on reasonable terms, and forwarded punctually, agreeably to order.

Figure 3.8: Advertisements from W. Kidson Store in *The Graham's Town Journal*.

a) 12 June 1845.

In the advertisement placed by W. Kidson, an importer and general dealer, it is possible to see the categories the glass was divided into in Grahamstown (Figure 3.8). In the advertisement from *The Graham's Town Journal*, dated 12 June 1845 the glass is divided into the following categories: foreign spirits, foreign wine and Cape wine and Cape spirits.

The dealer distinguishes between imported wines, and wines produced in the Cape Colony. There are also additional categories that are not designated as imports or as local products.

These categories include liqueurs, clarets, ale, porter and cider. The categories are enlightening, as they reflect exactly how the consumers and residents viewed each product. It is significant to bear these divisions in mind when looking at the glass that was excavated at Huntley Street as

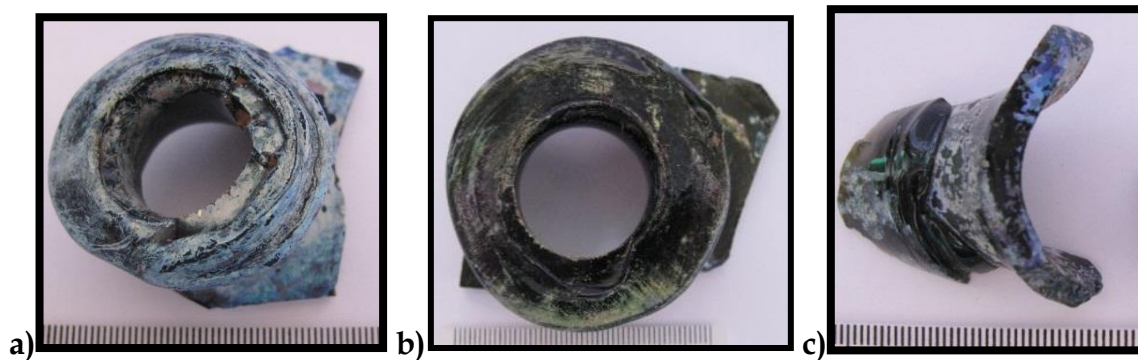
these labels distinguished between foreign and domestic products. Lief (1965: 5) also stated that the English taverns poured alcoholic beverages into bottles their patrons brought with them and eventually could provide the patrons with bottles if they did not arrive with their own (see also Marshall 2008: 75).

3.3.1.1 Case/Gin Bottle Glass

A total of 24 case bottle²⁶ fragments was excavated over the two-year period in seven different layers (Table 3.5). While 15 of these fragments are small they can still be identified as various parts of a case bottle. The six finish fragments (Figure 3.9 a-f) include examples of four different manufacturing techniques for case bottles: Flared lip, rolled lip, tapered round finishes and finishes with flattened sides. In each of the examples the mould seam characteristic of an applied finish is visible inside the bore of the bottle finish providing further confirmation that the finishes date to the first half of the 19th century (Jones 1986).

Table 3.5: Breakdown of Case Glass Excavated at Huntley Street.

Glass Category (Diagnostic Fragments)	Excavation Year	Excavation Layer	Finishes	Bases	Neck/Shoulder	Body
Case/Gin Bottles	1987	1.27m-1.67m	3	2	2	4
Case/Gin Bottles	1987	1.67m-1.72m	1	1		
Case/Gin Bottles	1987	1.72m-1.75m			1	1
Case/Gin Bottles	1987	1.75m-1.90m		5	1	
Case/Gin Bottles	1988	Layer C	1			
Case/Gin Bottles	1988	Layer G			1	
Case/Gin Bottles	1988	Layer H	1			



²⁶ Case bottles are manufactured with a square body to fit into the slots in a specially constructed square crate.

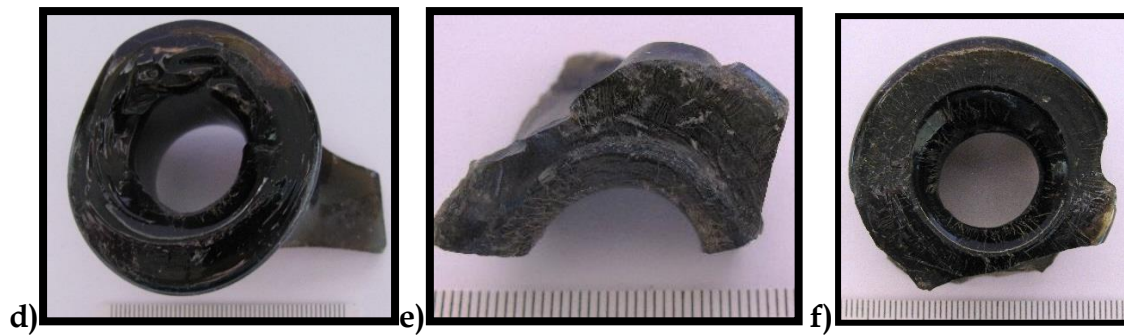


Figure 3.9: Case Bottle Finishes Excavated at Huntley Street.

a) Contemporary Finish with Flattened Sides (Odell 2003); b) Tapered Round Finish with Tool Marks (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982); c) Constricted Finish with Rounded Sides (Odell 2003); d) “Pig-Snout” Finish or Rolled Lip (Antique Bottles); e) and f) Flared Finish (Lastovica & Lastovica 1989; White 2000).

The three complete case bottle bases all have different designs (Figure 3.10 a-c): two of the bases are embossed while the third base is smooth with no embossing visible (Jones et al 1989; Odell 2013). The two embossed bases cannot be identified to specific bottle contents. The resting points on the bases are all pointed, and this allows the base to rest on these four corners when placed on a flat surface. This is evidence that the bases date to prior to 1870 (Lindsey 2013 c). The resting points of Figure 3.10 a are worn. This may be evidence of possible reuse.



Figure 3.10: Case Bottle Bases Excavated at Huntley Street.

a) Smooth Base with Worn Resting Points; b) Square Base with Rounded Heel and Cross Embossed on Base; c) Square Base with Rounded Heel and Star Embossed on Base (Jones et al 1989; Odell 2003).

3.3.1.2 Alcoholic Beverages

Twelve finishes for alcoholic beverage bottles were excavated at Huntley Street. The first three two-part finishes (Figure 3.11 a-c) have intact lips and string rims, with no visible neck details. The lack of this diagnostic feature enables only a broad identification to be made of these three finishes. The seven remaining finishes have an intact lip and string rim and include either a partial or complete neck fragment allowing a narrower identification of the bottle contents.

Three of the finishes (Figure 3.11 d-f) have roughly cylindrical necks, two of the finishes have tapered necks (Figure 3.11 g-h) and the final two finishes have bulged necks (Figure 3.11 i-j). Eight different types of alcoholic beverages were broadly identified from the 10 finish fragments (summarised in Table 3.6). Most of the finishes come from two main categories, wine and spirits.

Two of the finishes (Figure 3.11 g and Figure 3.11 h) can be narrowly identified to two bottle types. Figure 3.11 g is indicative of a Bordeaux style wine bottle and has a champagne bottle finish style that was used for all sparkling wines (Herskowitz 1978; Jones et al 1989: 86). Figure 3.11 h also has a champagne finish (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982). While the colour of the bottle is normally attributed to a champagne bottle the finish is still broadly identified as belonging either to a wine bottle or a champagne bottle. Figure 3.11 k-l are finishes from ale or beer bottles.

Table 3.6: Summary of Alcoholic Bottle Glass Finish Fragments by Possible Bottle Contents.

Photograph	Excavation Year	Excavation Depth	Champagne	Wine	Spirits	Brandy	Beer	Ale	Stout	Porter
Figure 3.11 a	1987	1.27-1.67m		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Figure 3.11 b	1987	1.90-2.27m		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Figure 3.11 c	1987	1.90-2.27m		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Figure 3.11 d	1987	1.27-1.67m		✓	✓					
Figure 3.11 e	1987	1.75-1.90m		✓	✓					
Figure 3.11 f	1987	1.90-2.27m		✓	✓					
Figure 3.11 g	1987	1.27-1.67m	✓	✓						
Figure 3.11 h	1987	1.75-1.90m	✓	✓						
Figure 3.11 i	1987	1.27-1.67m				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Figure 3.11 j	1987	1.27-1.67m				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Figure 3.11 k	1987	1.90-2.27m					✓	✓		
Figure 3.11 l	1987	1.90-2.27m					✓	✓		

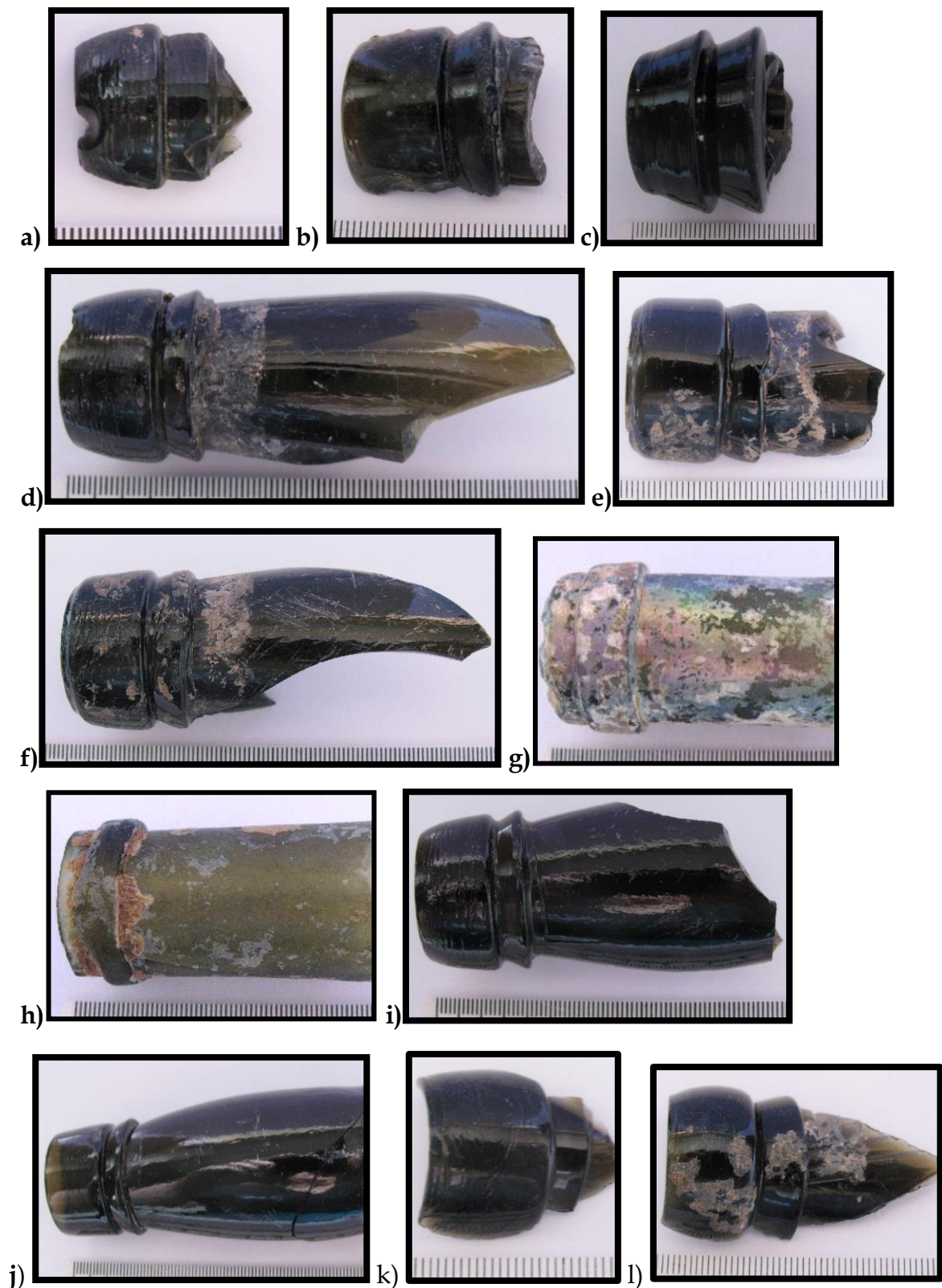
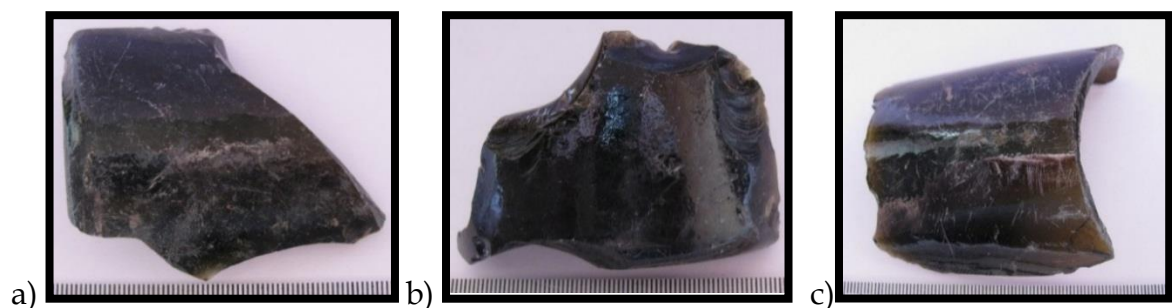


Figure 3.11: Alcoholic Beverage Glass Bottle Finishes Excavated at Huntley Street.

a)-c) Two-part finish fragments (Herskowitz 1978, Lindsey 2013d); d)-f) Two-part Finishes with Roughly Cylindrical Necks (Jones et al 1989); g) Bordeaux Style Wine Bottle (Jones et al 1989:86)/ Champagne Bottle Finish Shape with Sloped Top (Herskowitz 1978); h) Champagne Bottle Finish Shape with Flat Top (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982); i)-j) Two-part Finishes with Bulged Necks (Herskowitz 1978, Odell 2003); k)-l) Beer and Ale Bottle Finishes.

Eight base and body fragments were found in the two excavation units. Two of the diagnostic fragments are from the upper layers of the 1987 excavation units (Figure 3.12 a (38 cm-46 cm) and Figure 3.12 f (60 cm- 82 cm)). A partial base and body fragment was excavated from Layer F (Figure 3.12 b). The manufacturing techniques visible on all three of these fragments can be dated to the first half of the 19th century. Three of the seven fragments are body fragments. Two body fragments (Figure 3.12 a, c) are from wine bottles. The third fragment (Figure 3.12 g) is from a champagne bottle. A body fragment with no visible heel or base was excavated from 1.27 m- 1.67 m. (Figure 3.12 c).

Two complete bottle bases with a substantial part of the bottle body still intact (between 59 mm and 95 mm) were found in the 1.97 m-2.27 m layer (Figure 3.12 d-e). These two bases are the largest glass fragments in the Huntley Street glass assemblage. The two bases are between 62 mm and 65 mm wide and a rounded pontil mark is visible on both bases. This width of these bases is synonymous with cylindrical wine bottles (Jones 1986). A complete bottle base (Figure 3.12 f) with a domed push-up was excavated at 60 cm- 82 cm (Odell 2003). The width of this base is 84 mm. This width is indicative of broader brandy bottle bases (Lindsey 2013 a, b). Figure 3.12 h is a moulded bottle base with the letter 'H. RIC...' visible on the base. This base is from a bottle patented by Henry Rickett's. The patent dates from 1821 (Kemp 2007). An additional five base fragments are unidentified (Type A1-A5).



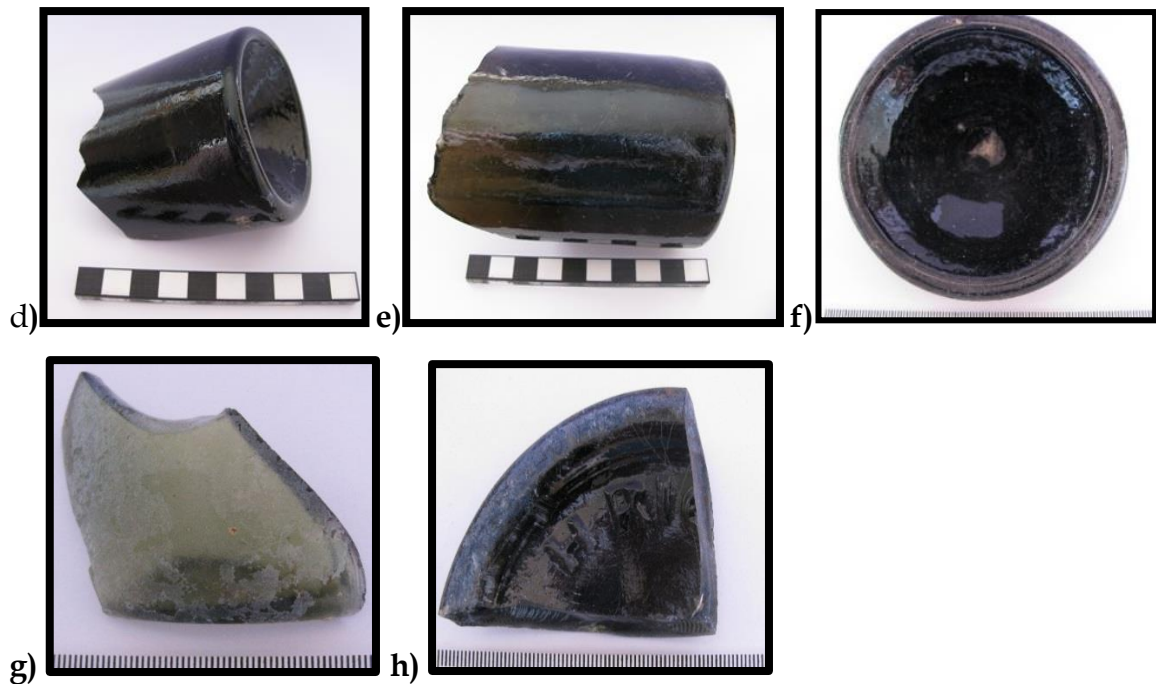
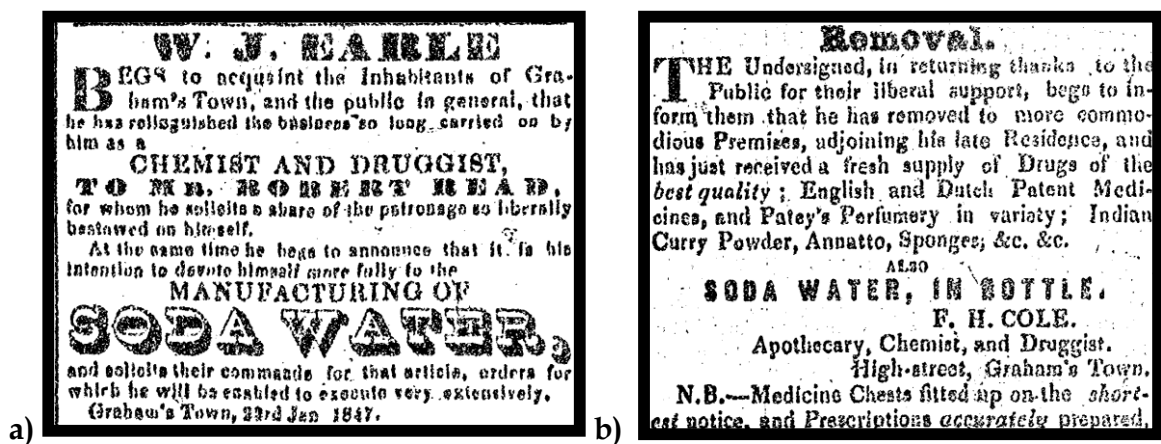


Figure 3.12: Alcoholic Beverage Bottle Base and Body Fragments Excavated at Huntley Street.

a) Body Fragment with Heel, b) Base and Body Fragment, c) Body fragment, d)-f) Cylindrical Wine Bottle Bases with Rounded Cone Basal Profiles for Wine or Champagne (Jones et al 1989), g) Body and Heel Fragment h) Henry Rickett's Mould Base (Kemp 2007).

3.3.1.3 Non-Alcoholic Beverages and Medicinal or Proprietary Medicines

The carbonated beverage and aerated water bottle glass are grouped together with the medicinal glass in this sub-section. Carbonated beverages serve a dual function, originally used for medicine and later for refreshment (Jones et al 1989; Talbot 1974: 33). This dual role is visible in the advertisements in *The Graham's Town Journal*. The main stockists of non-alcoholic beverages in Grahamstown were the chemists and druggists (Figure 3.13).



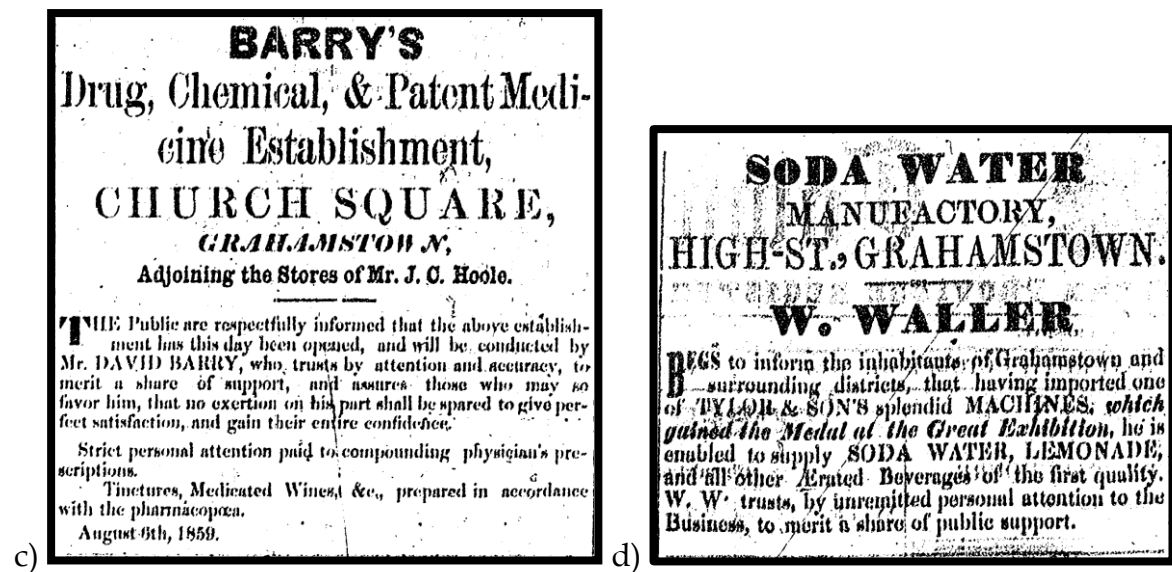


Figure 3.13: Pharmacy Advertisement for Aerated Beverages in The Graham's Town Journal. a)-b) 15 October 1840, c) 9 August 1859, d) 31 October 1857.

A total of 12 bottle fragments was excavated. Ten of the fragments were from a single layer, 1.27-1.67 m (Table 3.7). These fragments can be further sub-divided into 10 finishes, a body fragment, and a base fragment. Five of the finishes are aqua/clear single part finishes for carbonated beverage bottles (two are photographed in Figure 3.14 a-b). Two of the finishes are dark green finishes for non-alcoholic beverage bottles. Figure 3.14 d was found in Layer F. The fragment has an applied finish that can be dated to the early 19th century. Figure 3.14 e can be utilised for both alcoholic beverage bottles and non-alcoholic beverage bottles.

The three medicinal bottle finishes have either patent or prescription lips (Figure 3.14 d-f). The medicinal bottle finishes are indicative of Kronessent bottles or Dutch bitters bottles (AntiqueBottles.com; Lastovica & Lastovica 1982: 46). The base and body fragments are from two egg-ended carbonated beverage bottles (Talbot 1974) (Figure 3.14 c).

Table 3.7: Summary of Carbonated Beverage and Medicinal Bottle Glass.

Glass Category (Diagnostic Fragments)	Excavation Year	Excavation Layer	Finishes	Bases	Neck	Shoulder	Body
Codd Face Finish	1987	60 cm-82 cm	2		1		
Codd Face Finish	1987	46 cm-1 m	1				
Carbonated Beverage Bottles	1987	1.27 m -1.67 m	5	1			1
Carbonated Beverage Bottles	1988	Layer F	1				
Carbonated Beverage Bottles	1987	1.90 m- 2.27 m	1				
Codd Bottles	1988	Layer G			1		
Codd Bottles	1988	Layer G	1				
Codd Bottles	1988	Layer G	1				
Medicinal Bottles	1987	1.27 m -1.67 m	3				

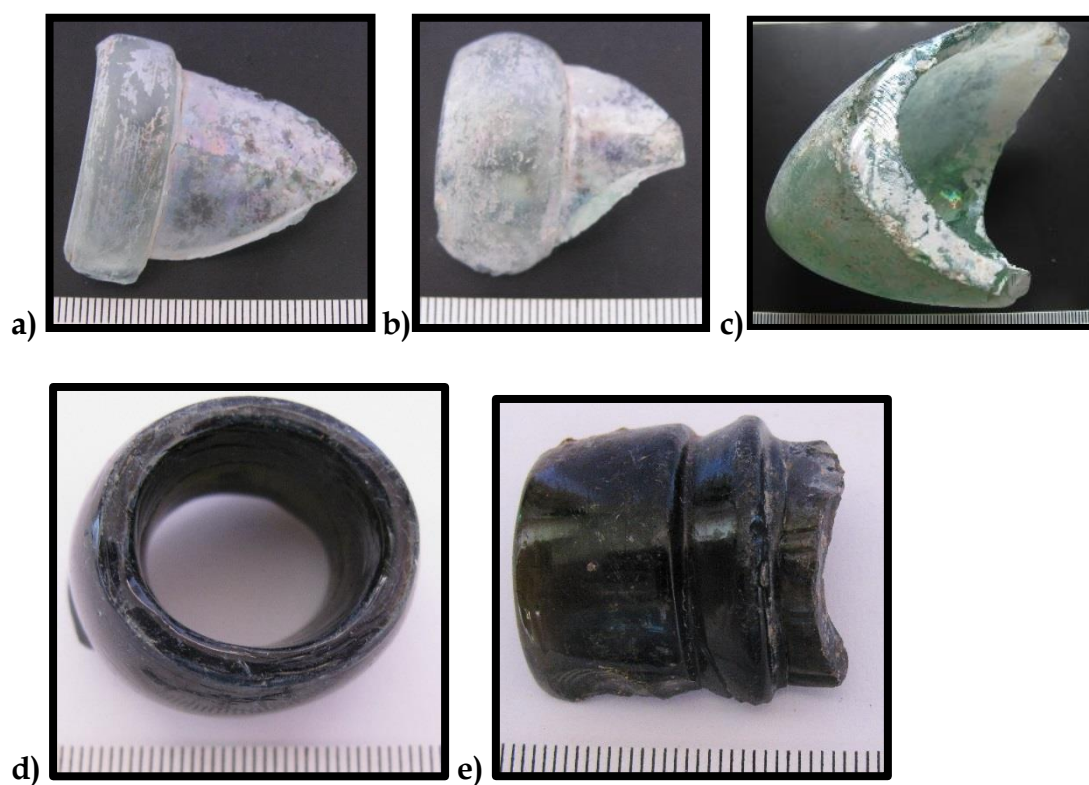




Figure 3.14: Non-Alcoholic Beverage Bottles and Medicinal Bottles Excavated at Huntley Street.

a)-b) Rounded Soda/Carbonated Bottle finish (Hedges 1975, Lastovica & Lastovica 1989, Odell (2003); c) Egg-shaped body (Jones et al 1989); f)-g) Carbonated Beverage Bottle Finishes; h)-j) Druggist Bottle Finish (Jones et al 1989: 48; American Historical Catalog Collection 1971).

All the Codd bottle glass excavated at Huntley Street were found in the post-research layers (n=4) and the 1988 excavation (n=3). Five Codd bottle finishes and two neck fragments were found (Figure 3.15 a-f). The eight embossed fragments from the two excavations are summarised in Table 3.8. Five of the embossed fragments tie into the Codd Bottle patent filed by Dan Ryland in 1873 to “protect his new method of forming a groove” when the words “Patent Safe Groove” were added to his “ball-stoppered bottles” (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982: 28). The lettering on the remaining three embossed fragments is unidentified.

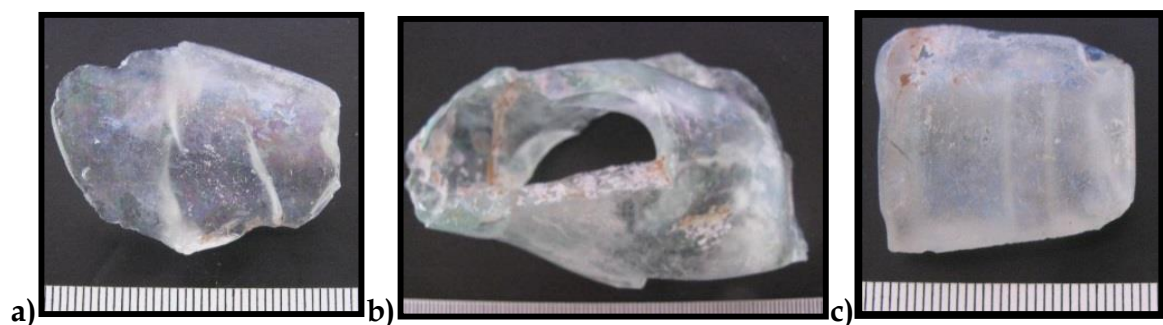




Figure 3.15: Codd Bottle Finishes and Neck Fragments Excavated in Huntley Street (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982).

Table 3.8: Wording on Embossed Carbonated Beverage Bottle Fragments.

Excavation Layer	Embossed Lettering Visible	Actual Wording	Identification	Reference
60-82 cm	..GROVE..HER..NDS..RY	Unknown	Unidentified	
60-82 cm	..T & FOSTER ..ERS	Barnett & Fosters	Codd's Agent in London	Talbot 1974:48
Layer G	..NT SAFE GROOVE 4...	Patent Safe Groove 4 Sole Makers	Dan Ryland's Patent	Talbot 1974:52
Layer G	..DAN	Dan Ryland	Dan Ryland's Patent	Talbot 1974:52
Layer G	..SOLL...VAN ZYL...BARNES...4	Bamsley	Dan Ryland Ltd, Bamsley England	Lastovica & Lastovica (1982:28)
Layer G	..PAT...	Patent	Dan Ryland's Patent	Talbot 1974:52
Layer G	..AND MEY...	and Mey	Unidentified	
Layer G	..WATERS...	Waters	Unidentified	

3.3.2 Food and Condiment Bottles

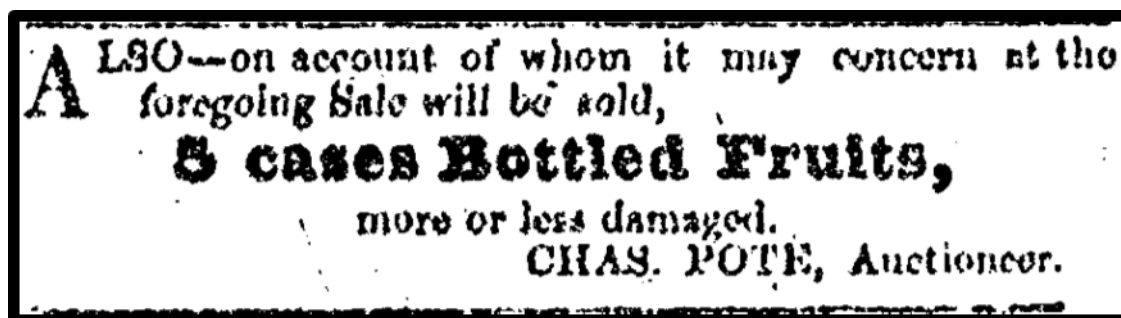


Figure 3.16: Advertisement for Food Bottles (*The Graham's Town Journal* 14 August 1852).

As evidenced by Figure 3.16 above, food was also packed into bottles. The sample size for this sub-category is small ($n=3$) at Huntley Street. The fragments were found in two upper layers of the 1987 excavation (38-46 cm; 46 cm-1m). One is an oil or bitters bottle finish (Figure 3.17 a) and the second is the complete base and body of a Holbrook and Co Worcestershire sauce bottle (Figure 3.17 b). A second oil or bitters bottle finish was found between 1.27 m and 1.67 m.

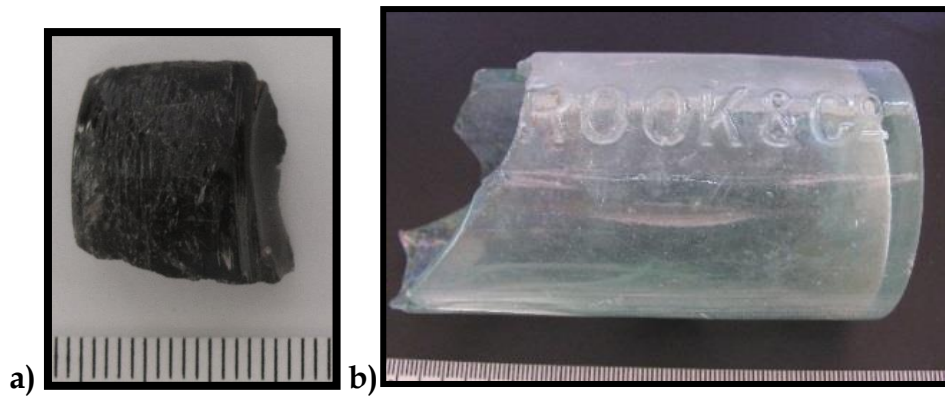


Figure 3.17: Food Preparation Glass Excavated at Huntley Street.

a) Oil or Bitters Bottle (Goodman 1993, Jones et al 1989; Odell 2003); b) Holbrook & Co Worcestershire Sauce Bottle (Antique Bottles.co.za).

3.3.3 Tableware

Tableware was found in all the layers from 1-1.16 m to 1.90-2.27m. Five tumbler base fragments were excavated from three separate excavation layers (1.27 m-1.67 m; 1.72 m-1.75 m; 1.75 m-1.90 m). A single stem fragment was excavated between 1-1.16m. The fragments from a serving bowl (n=12) and a dessert glass (n=12) were also excavated from the 1.27-1.67m layer (Figure 3.18 a-d). The diagnostic fragments are summarised in Table 3.9.

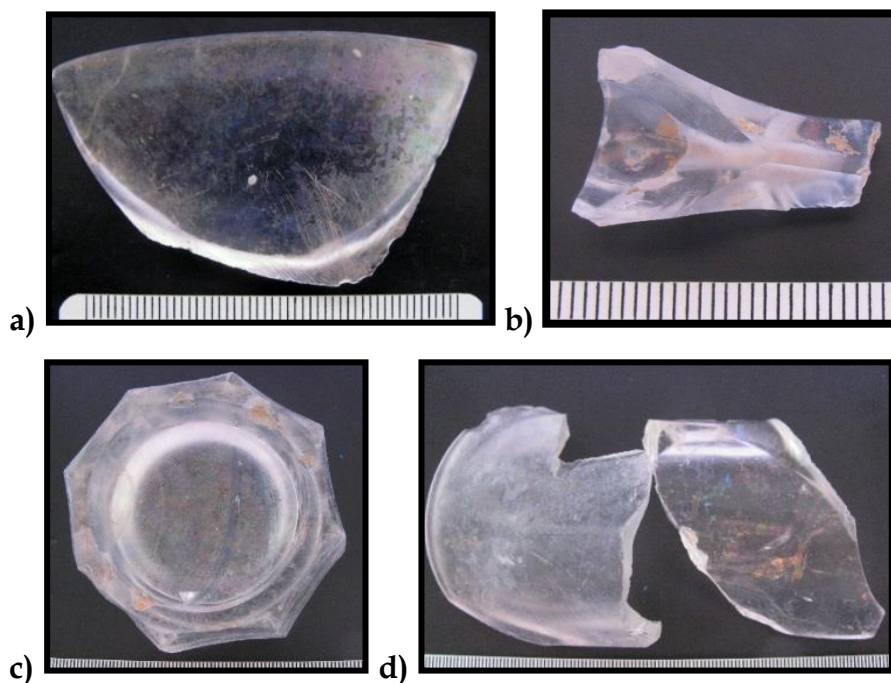


Figure 3.18: Tableware Excavated at Huntley Street.

a) Glass Bowl Fragment, b) Stem Flute with a Common Decorative Motif (Jones et al 1989:59); c) Octagonal Tumbler Base (Jones & Sullivan 1989); d) Dessert Glass (Jones & Sullivan (1989: 135), Jones & Smith (1985:79)).

Table 3.9: Breakdown of Diagnostic Tableware.

Glass Category (Diagnostic Fragments)	Excavation Year	Excavation Layer	Finishes/Rim	Bases	Body
Dessert Glass	1987	1.27 -1.67 m	4		8
Stem Fragment	1987	1 -1.16 m			1
Serving Bowl	1987	1.27-1.67 m	6		7
	1987	1.90-2.27 m			2
Glass Tumblers	1987	1.27-1.67 m/1.72- 1.75m/1.75- 1.90m		5	

3.3.4 Window Glass

Aside from the case glass discussed in Section 3.3.1.1 window glass is the only other flat glass found at Huntley Street. Historically the bulk of window glass manufactured in Britain between 1773 and 1845 was crown glass (Roenke 1978: 5). It is however not possible to determine whether the bulk of the flat glass found at Huntley Street, and the other two sites, is window glass. The analysis is hampered by the size of the fragments found. If the fragments are too small, it is not possible to see the imperfections that are left behind during the manufacturing processes for crown and broad window glass (Scharfenberger 2004: 64).

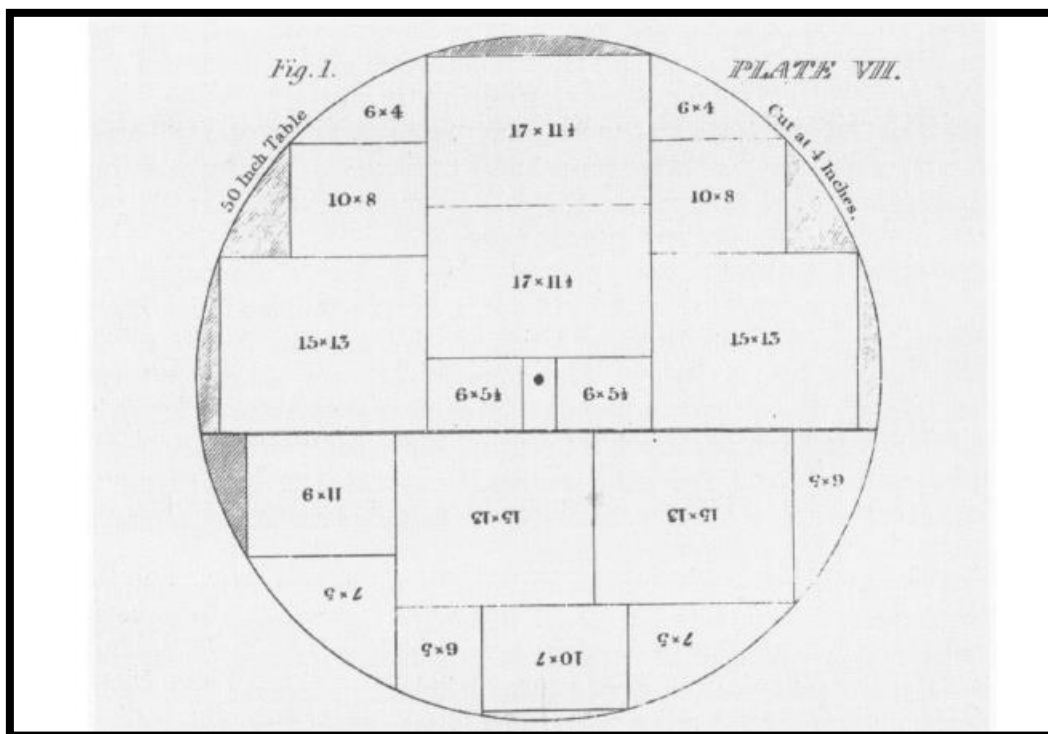
Window glass was shipped in boxes. Vincent (1993: 176) describes the procedures followed to ensure minimal breakage (see also Jones 1986: 14):

Once cut into panes the glass had to be carefully packed for shipping to the wholesalers and retail market. Care had to be taken to have the boxes in which the panes were to be packed of such a size that no more space was left than necessary for the straw or other packaging materials. According to Cooper the best material for packing glass was meadow hay, which could be interleaved with the panes of glass, since putting too many together without some soft substance endangered their safety.

Louw (1991: 56) included a photograph of a page from *William Cooper's Crown Glass Cutters Manual and Glazier's Manual 1835*. In this diagram two different table sizes and glass thicknesses show the various glass sizes that can be cut from a

circular flat sheet of glass (Figure 3.19). In the three advertisements in Figure 3.20 four different window pane sizes are advertised. Figure 3.20 a, indicates that the glass was cut to British sizes and Figure 3.20 b advertises window glass of the “finest quality” in the “usual sizes”. This appears to indicate a familiarity with the size of the glass.

Window glass was also included in the tenders for supplies for the Royal Engineers and in the advertisements directed towards the Grahamstown consumers. The merchants and shopkeepers may also have kept a supply of glass on hand in their stores for both groups of people. Also, the advertisements consistently show the same window pane sizes: 7”x9”, 8”x10” and 10”x12”. This small range of window glass sizes would have restricted the windows that could be installed in the houses. The sizes were also familiar to British builders.



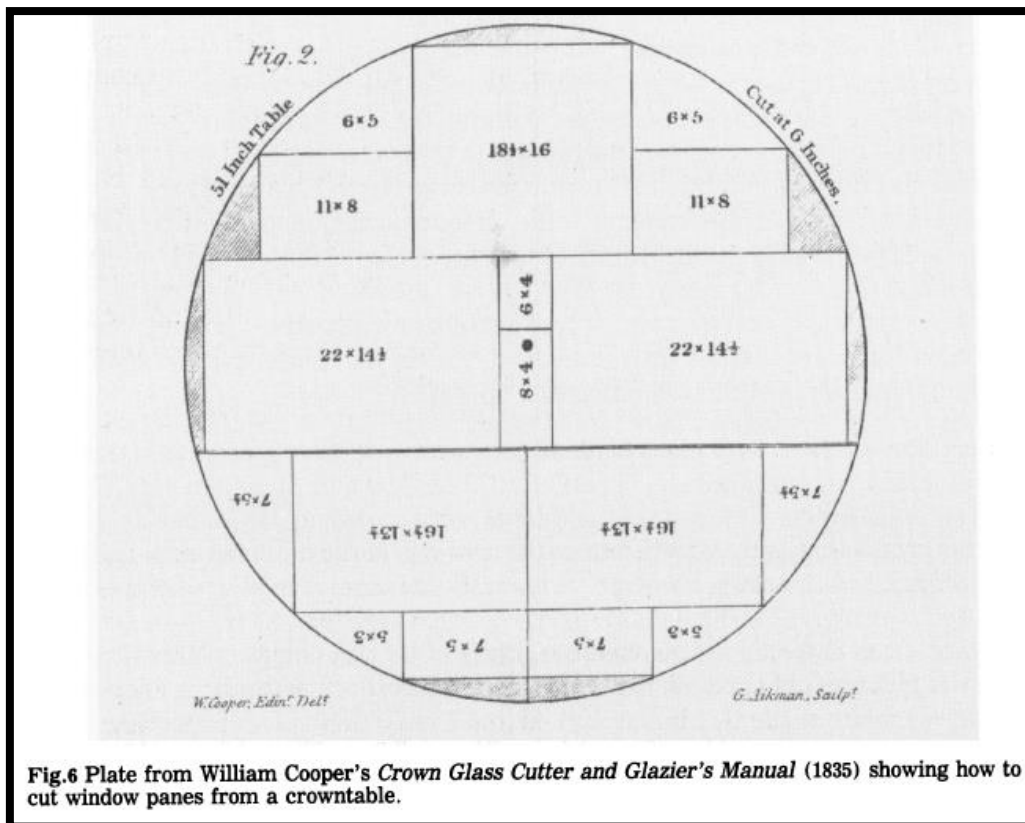


Figure 3.19: Window Glass Sizes (Louw 1991).

Window Glass—British, 10 x 8,
Alc and Porter—Byass
Yellow Soap—Irish,
Carved Glass—fresh,
FOR SALE at the stores of the undersigned. An addi-
 tion to his Stock of Manufactures lately made—com-
 prising

- Gros de Naples,
- Thread,
- Mousselin de Laine and Cashmere
- Dresses,**
- Lastings,
- India-rubber braces,
- Duffels,
- Roll Jackonets,
- Gambroon and tweed coats,
- Superfine cloths,
- Trowsersings,
- &c. &c.

R. A. CAMPION.

Building Materials.

FOR SALE at the stores of the undersigned in Church
 Square, next door to Mr. SHEPHERD,
Zinc—in 16 inch widths and excellent condition,
Window Glass—of first-rate quality, usual
 sizes,
Yellow Deals—14 to 22 feet lengths
 Tar, paints, turpentine, &c. &c.
At REDUCED Prices
WILLIAM WRIGHT.
 Graham's Town,
 30th December, 1847.

GLASS.

FOR Sale at the Stores of the Undersigned,
WINDOW GLASS 7 x 9, 8 x 10, 10 x 12,
 and a few Cases of
COLOURED GLASS.
C. & H. MAYNARD & Co.
 High Street, Graham's Town, 28th April 1849.

Figure 3.20: Advertisements Highlighting Window Glass sizes in *The Graham's Town Journal*.
 a) 4 September 1847; b) 3 January 1848 and c) 28 April 1849).

The type and quantity of window glass used in a building was determined by architectural styles. On the frontier this was further influenced by the type of glass available for use, and the technology available to install the windows (Vincent 1993: 165). In Figure 3.21 Louw (1991: 51) highlights two different window pane sizes and the window they can be utilised in. The pane sizes that arrived in the Colony were smaller than those in the photograph, providing an indication of how large windows were in Grahamstown in comparison to the windows in England.

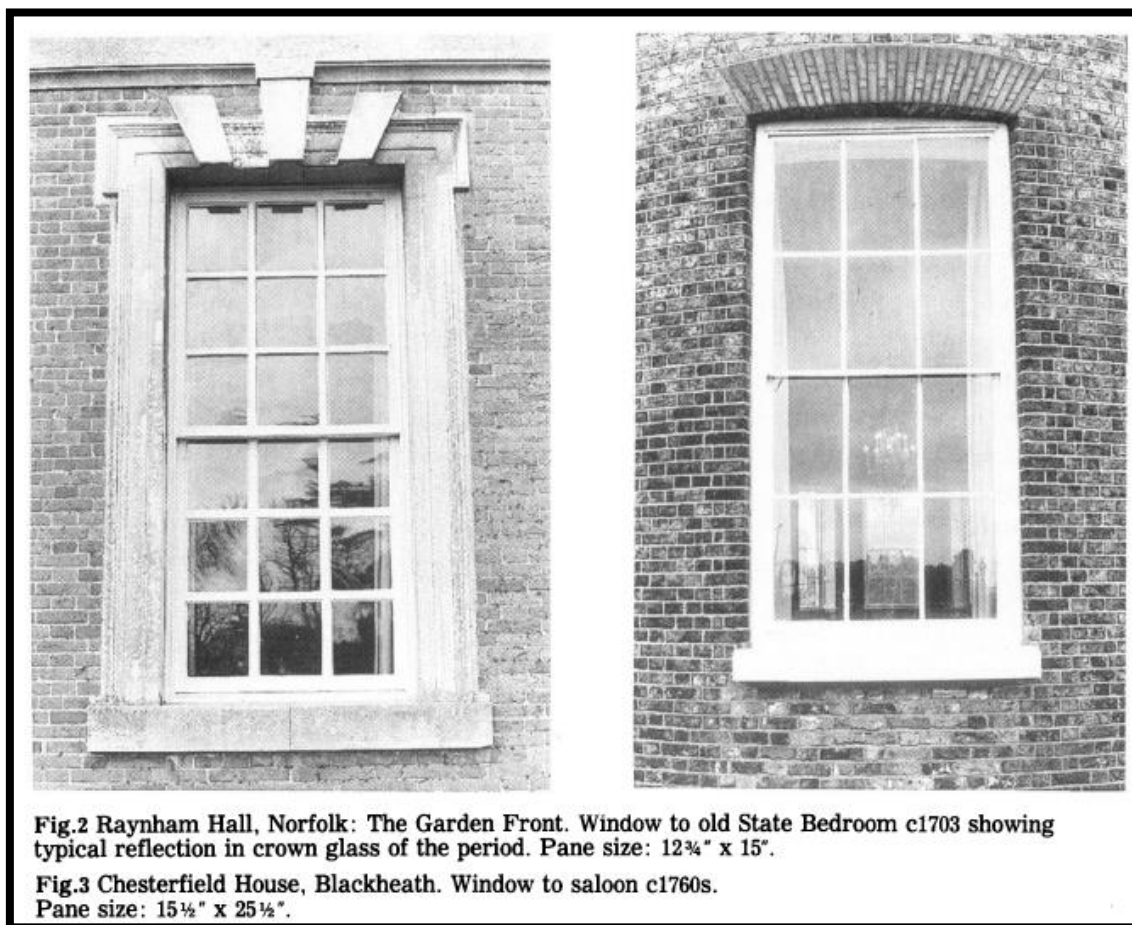


Figure 3.21: Window Pane Sizes in English Homes (Louw 1991: 51).

A total of 115 window glass sherds were excavated at Huntley Street with a total weight of 182.18 g (Table 3.10). Most of the glass (89%) was excavated in the 1987 excavation below 1 m (n=103). Of the 115 sherds, 89 sherds measure less than 1 mm in width (Figure 3.22).

Table 3.10: Window Glass by Layer and Excavation Year and Width.

Huntley Street Excavation Layer	Excavation Layer	Window Glass			
		Total Qty	Total Weight (g)	Width of Under 1 mm	Width of Over 1 mm
HS T2 Layer D	1988	1	0.90	1	0
HS T2 Layer F	1988	1	0.99	1	0
HS 46 cm- 1 m	1987	4	4.90	0	4
HS 60 cm- 70 cm	1987	4	1.18	0	4
HS 60 cm- 82 cm	1987	2	3.89	0	2
HS 1 m -1.16 m	1987	2	2.11	1	1
HS 1.16 m- HS 1.18 m	1987	1	2.08	1	0
HS 1.18 m- 1.27 m	1987	5	4.22	0	5
HS 1.27 m- 1.67 m	1987	61	97.28	61	0
HS 1.67 m- 1.72 m	1987	9	21.65	9	0
HS 1.72 m- 1.75 m	1987	2	3.44	2	0
HS 1.75 m- 1.90 m	1987	9	14.35	0	9
HS 1.90 m- 2.27 m	1987	14	24.69	13	1
TOTAL		115	182.18	89	26

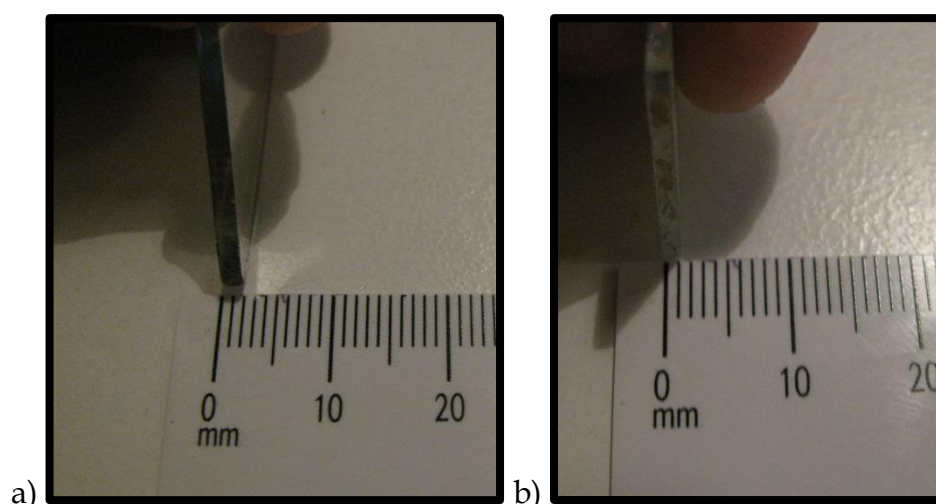


Figure 3.22: Flat Glass-Width Measurements
a) Over 1.5 mm wide, b) 1 mm wide.

3.3.5 Glass Recycling and Glass Prices

In Grahamstown the demand for bottles exceeded the ability of the merchants to supply them. One wine and spirit dealer, W Kidson, constantly advertised for bottles (Figure 3.23 c-e), ranging from 10 dozen bottles to 500 dozen bottles. From Figure 3.23 b and Figure 3.23 e it is also evident that at specific times only certain bottles were in demand. In the two advertisements ale, porter and wine bottles are needed. In Figure 3.23 f, W. Kidson advertised for the return of one of his bottle

baskets. This provides information on how the merchants moved the bottles between the stores or possibly this basket was utilised to deliver bottles to a customer's home.

W. KIDSON.
DEALER IN
WINE and SPIRITS.
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.
HAS received per "Conch" and other Vessels, a fresh supply of superior
Cognac Brandy;
French Brandy;
Jamaica Rum in cases,
Scheerlam Gin in 1 dozen and 16 bottle cases,
Cape Brandy, &c. &c. &c.
Wines.
Superior Cape Madeira (pale and brown),
" Sherry,
" Dry Pontac,
" Sweet do,
" Muscadell, } In wood
" Hock, } and bottles
" Stein Hock,
" Stein,
MARSEILLA,
Sherry, pale and brown,
Port, Claret, Burgundy, &c. &c.
Liqueurs.
FRENCH, GERMAN & LION DISTILLERY.
BYASS'S
Bottled Ale and Porter.
N.B. - Five Gallon, one Case, or one dozen at Wholesale Prices.
Bottles Wanted.
W. KIDSON.
Graham's Town.

BLACK BOTTLES.
WANTED a few Hundred dozen
ALE AND PORTER BOTTLES
—"Quarts."
Robt. Read,
Chemist.
Graham's Town,
October, 2nd 1837.

WANTED, 100 dozen BOTTLES, for
which a good price will be given, by
W. KIDSON.

WANTED.
BY THE UNDERSIGNED,
500 doz. Wine bottles
W. KIDSON.

GRAHAM'S TOWN.
WINE BOTTLES.
WANTED, 200 DOZEN.
MANDY & Co., Wine Merchants.

W. Kidson,
HAVING sent his 1 dozen bottle Basket out
and not recollecting to whom; he will
feel particularly obliged to the person who has it
informing him where it is, that he may send for it

Figure 3.23: Advertisements for Empty Bottles in *The Graham's Town Journal*.

a) 7 October 1841; b) 3 October 1857; c) 27 August 1840; d) 6 March 1845, e) 15 May 1852 and 14 February 1833.

An advertisement placed by Robert Read dated 15 December 1855 (Figure 3.24 a) indicated that there may be a culture in place in Grahamstown to return your bottle for your next purchase or possibly to take a bottle with you to be filled. Read requested that his customers return their empty bottles without delay, so the bottles could be credited to their account.

Also, in another advertisement (29 October 1853), Robert Read listed how much he is willing to pay for empty bottles: One shilling and a sixpence for ale and wine

bottles, a shilling for porter bottles and all other bottles except gin flasks which would be bought for a penny each (Figure 3.24 b). In Figure 3.24 c Robert Read offers one shilling per dozen for quart and pint bottles, pickle and fruit bottles and all kinds of medicine and perfumery bottles. The main difference between Figure 3.24 b and Figure 3.24 c is that the first advertisement was placed for his mercantile business while the second advertisement identifies Robert Read as a chemist.

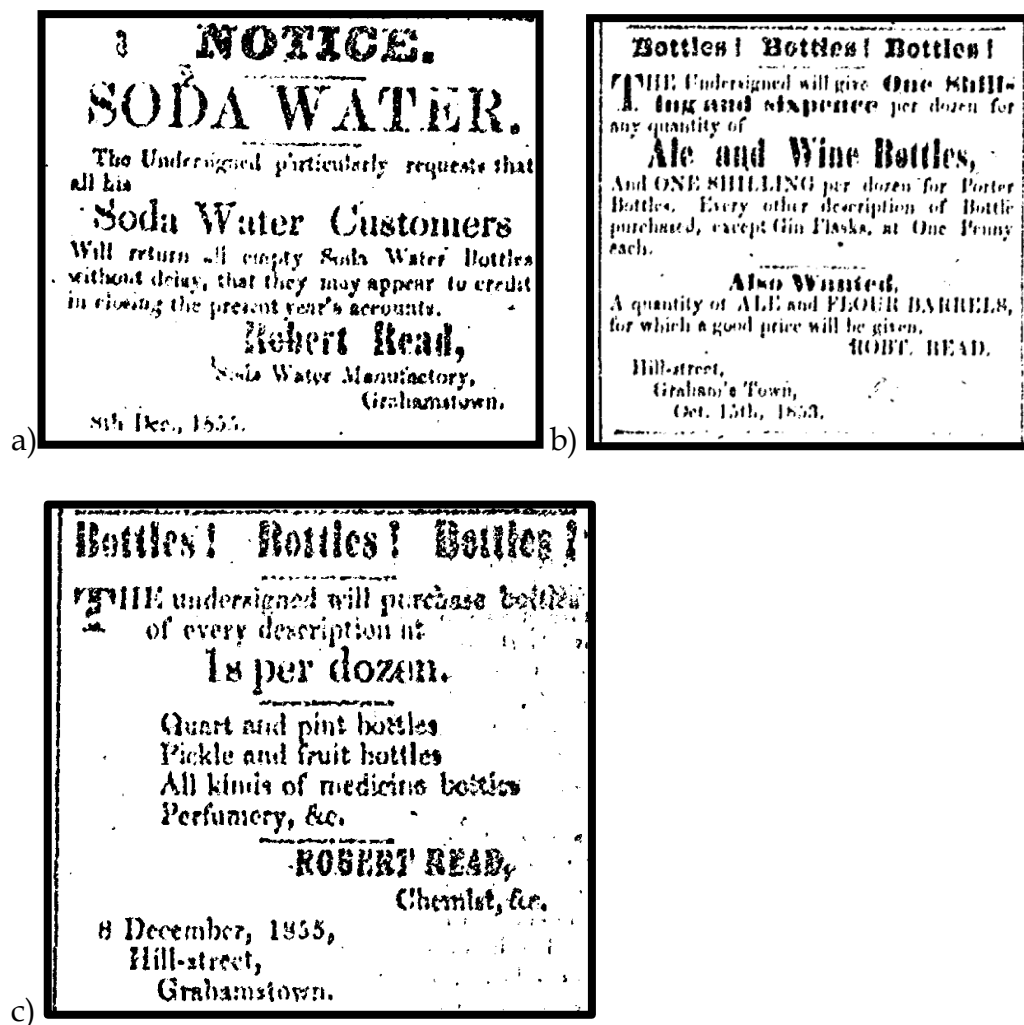
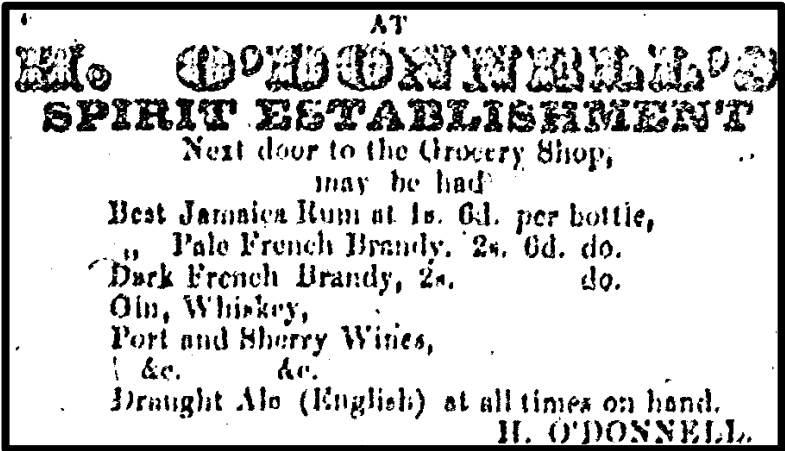
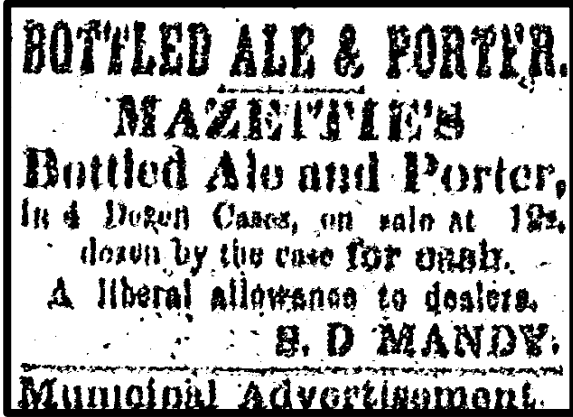


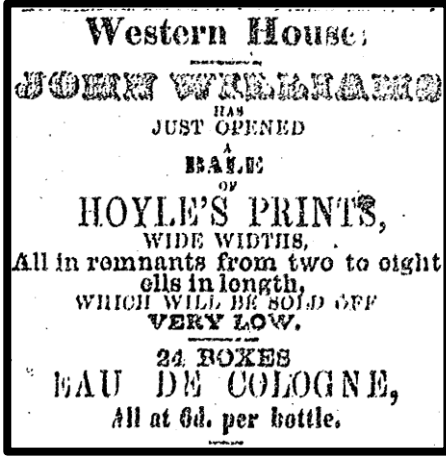
Figure 3.24: Specialised Advertisements for Bottles by Robert Read in *The Graham's Town Journal*.
 a) 15 December 1855, b) 29 October 1853, c) 22 December 1855.

While there are several advertisements highlighting what merchants would pay for empty bottles there are only three advertisements that reveal how much the consumers had to pay for alcoholic beverages and perfumery. In Figure 3.25 a-b

the cost of alcohol ranged between 1s 6d and 2s and in Figure 3.25 d Bass Burton's Ale is £6 5s per hogshead. In Figure 3.25 c *eau de cologne* is priced at 6d.

a) 
AT
H. O'DONNELL'S
SPIRIT ESTABLISHMENT
 Next door to the Grocery Shop,
 may be had
 Best Jamaica Rum at 1s. 6d. per bottle,
 " Pale French Brandy. 2s. 6d. do.
 Dark French Brandy, 2s. do.
 Old, Whiskey,
 Port and Sherry Wines,
 &c. &c.
 Draught Ale (English) at all times on hand.
H. O'DONNELL.

b) 
BOTTLED ALE & PORTER.
MAZETTE'S
 Bottled Ale and Porter,
 in 4 Dozen Cases, on sale at 12s.
 dozen by the case for cash.
 A liberal allowance to dealers.
B. D. MANDY.
 Municipal Advertisement.

c) 
Western House:
JOHN WILLIAMS
 HAS
 JUST OPENED
 A
 BALE
 OF
HOYLE'S PRINTS,
 WIDE WIDTHS,
 All in remnants from two to eight
 ells in length,
 WHICH WILL BE SOLD OFF
VERY LOW.
 24 BOXES
EAU DE COLOGNE,
 All at 6d. per bottle.

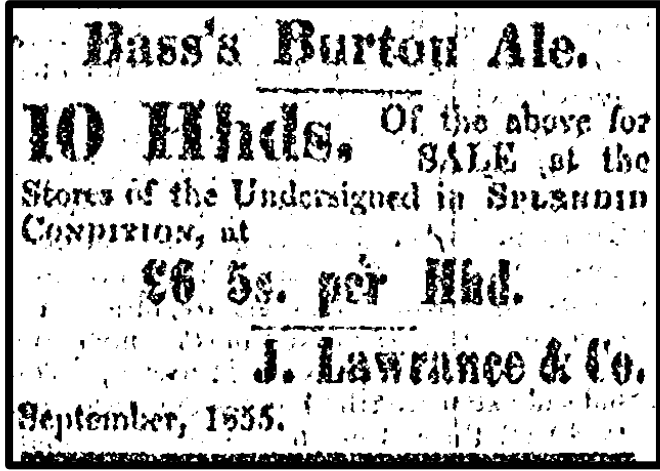
d) 
Bass's Burton Ale.
10 Hhds. Of the above for
SALE at the
 Stores of the Undersigned in **SEASIDE**
 Conspiring, at
£6 5s. per Hhd.
J. Lawrence & Co.
 September, 1855.

Figure 3.25: Cost of Alcohol and Perfumery Bottles
 a) 5 June 1852, b) 10 November 1860, c) 6 March 1852, d) 29 September 1855.

From this section it is apparent that the vendors in Grahamstown developed ways to work around the glass bottle shortages in the town. It is evident that the

consumers in the town were accustomed to purchasing products in glass and even having glass bottles in their homes.

3.4 METAL ANALYSIS AT HUNTLEY STREET

IRONMONGERY & SADDLERY WAREHOUSES,
CHURCH-SQUARE.
JAMES PARKER

RESPECTFULLY intimates to the Trade and his numerous Customers that being about to make an alteration in his Business, and desirous of reducing his Stock, he is prepared to make considerable abatement on present rates to Wholesale Purchasers. He has on hand,

IRONMONGERY.

KNIVES AND FORKS—Ivory handled Table and Dessert, Bone handled, black handled.
KNIVES ONLY—In Ivory, Bone, and Black.
Butchers' Knives and Steels.
Strike-fire Knives,
Pocket Knives,
Do. with flange,
Porkknives, 1 and 2 blade,
Pruning Knives,
Barriers' Knives,
Shoe Knives,
Razors,
Razors in cases,
German Silver Tea and Table Spoons,
Albata Plate Tea, Dessert, and Table Spoons,
Albata Dessert and Table Forks,
Albata Mustards and Salts,
Electro Plated Tea Sets,
Do. do. Mustards and Salts,
Britannia Metal Tea and Coffee Pots,
Dutch Coffee and Tea Pots,
Metal Sugars and Creams,
Griffith's Patent Tin Tea, Coffee, and Sugar Pots and Milk Jugs,
Patent Lever Coffee Pots,
Coffee Filterers,
Saucepans, enamell'd
Do. Tinned Iron
Do. Glazed
Enamell'd Iron Bowls,
Enamell'd Iron Plates and Dishes,
Tin Plates, Dinner
Tin Soup Plates,
Powder Dinner and Soup,
Do. round Dishes,
Gridirons,
Frying Pans,
Tinned Iron and Enamell'd
Brass Box Irons,
Sad Irons,
Italian Irons,
Crimping Machines,
Gofering Machines.

LOCKS.
Carpenters', 6 to 12 in., 2 & 3 Bolt Iron,
Dead Locks, 4 to 12 inch,
Drawback Locks, 8 to 12 inch
Brass case, 6 to 8 inch
Mortice, 6 & 7 inch
Rash Locks, 2 & 3 inch
Stock Locks, 6 to 14 inch
Iron Chest Locks, from 2 to 5 inch
Cup'd Iron, 2½ to 4½ inch
Till Iron, 2 to 3 inch
Brass box, 1½ to 3½ inch
Brass cup'd, 1½ to 4 inch
Brass Till, 1 to 3 inch
Brass Pad, 1 to 3 inch
Iron Pad, 1½ to 4 inch
Horse Locks,
Lock Leg Irons,
Police Handcuffs,

SCISSORS, Tailors'
Do. Women's steel
Sheep Shears, Sarby's
Do. Wilkinson's
Brass Kettles, round and oval
Copper do.
Brass and Copper Kettles on stands,
Brass Kettles and Comfours,
Wrought Iron Kettles, tinned inside, full-down handles,
Cast Iron Tea Kettles, tinned,
Cast Iron Tea Boilers and Tops,
Oval Iron Pots, tinned,
Glas Pots of sizes.

TOOLS.
Planes, Jointer, Tryng, Jack, and Smoothing,
Bead Planes,
Robots Planes,
O. G. Planes,
Moulding Planes,
Sash Planes,
Phillister Planes,
Plough Planes,
Wheeler's Planes,
Chisels, Mortice, Firmer, Socket and Turning,
Gauges, Firmer and Socket
Chisels and Gauges Handled,
Spoke-shaves,
Draw Shaves,
Buzes, ½ to 1 inch,
Adzes, Wheelers' and Carpenters',
Axes, side
Do. broad and felling
American Hand,
Do. Kentucky
Augers, shell and twisted
Squares, steel and iron
Squares, mitre and ash
Spirit Levels,
Gimblets and Awls,
Tea Trays,
Waiters, round and oval,
Black Tin Dish Covers,
Britannia Metal do.
Round Plate Covers,
Brass and Pewter Mugs,
COFFIN FURNITURE.
Chair Webb,
Saddle and Girth Webb,
Spades,
Shovels,
Nails,
Spikes and Screws,
Boiled and Raw Oil,
Pitch and Resin,
Bar, Rod, Hoop, and Sheet Iron.

Figure 3.26: Metal Available in Grahamstown (*The Graham's Town Journal* 16 September 1854).

Unlike the glass, metal was not a new import in the Cape Colony. Metal was already imported in its raw form and at the start of the 19th century the existing artefact assemblage was augmented by the introduction of additional categories of manufactured goods. Like with the glass above, the large variety of metal available in the Grahamstown is visible in the advertisements placed by the ironmongers in *The Graham's Town Journal* (Figure 3.26).

However due to the proximity of the two excavations to the Cowie Creek the metal assemblage was badly damaged by the water. The diagnostic metal assemblage at Huntley Street is small (n=35) and the undiagnostic metal weighs 4479.68 g. The size of the assemblage is not conducive to in-depth analysis, so the metal is broadly defined by looking at what was imported into the Colony and placing the metal into broad categories based on function. The metal can be divided into personal items, construction items (including nails), business items. No chemical analysis was completed.

3.4.1 Construction Items and Household Items

The largest metal category excavated at Huntley Street are building and construction items. Fourteen pieces of wire were found in five different excavation layers (38 cm-46 cm; 46 cm-1 m; 1.18-1.27 m; Layer B and Layer G). Roofing supplies were advertised in *The Graham's Town Journal* (Figure 3.28) and form part of the metal assemblage at Huntley Street. Three roofing washers were found in Layer B, Layer C and Layer E and a single roofing screw was found in Layer D. A large piece of zinc roofing was also found in Layer D (Figure 3.27 a, b and e). Two household items were excavated: a door or drawer handle and a picture hook (Figure 3.27 c-d).



Figure 3.27: Construction Items and Household Items Excavated at Huntley Street.
a) Roofing Washer; b) Zinc Piece; c) Picture Hook; d) Door/Drawer Handle; e) Roofing Screw.

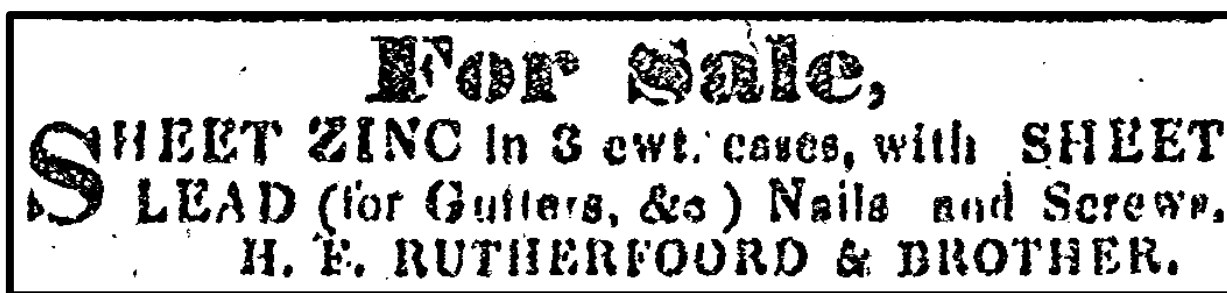


Figure 3.28: Roofing Supplies (*The Graham's Town Journal* 14 November 1845).

3.4.2 Nails²⁷

English nail production strongly influenced the way in which this artefact type can be dated in southern Africa sites. English factories were reticent to adopt new mechanised methods of production because they wanted to protect their workforce (see Wells 1998). Because of this British technology changed at a much slower rate than American technology. Adams (2002: 66) also cautions that historical archaeologists need to focus on the dates when a nail was mass produced instead of the actual patent dates for nails because there is a significant delay before a nail has production figures high enough to allow it to influence the

Nail Description	Number
Diagnostic	
Wrought Rosehead Nails	1
Cut Rosehead Nails	2
Wrought T-Shaped Nails	1
Cut T-Shaped Nails	1
Cut L-Shaped Nails	0
Butterfly Nails	0
Round Wire Nails	1
Square Nails	4
Rectangular Nails	1
Screws	1
Nuts	0
Bolts	0
Spikes	0
Sprigs	0
Tacks	2
Unidentified	9
Undiagnostic	70
TOTAL	93

archaeological record. At Huntley Street 93 nails were excavated of which 70 are undiagnostic and a further nine are unidentified. The nails are corroded due to their proximity to water (Table 3.11 & Figure 3.29).

Table 3.11: Summary of Nails Excavated at Huntley Street.

²⁷ The nomenclature used for all the nails is summarised in Appendix E.

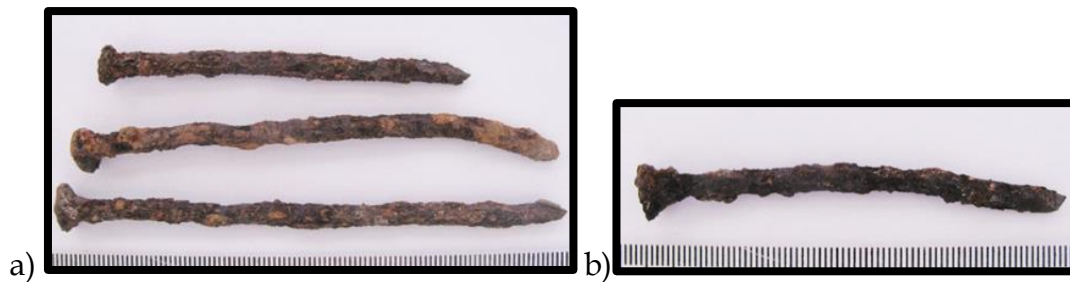


Figure 3.29: Examples of the Nails Excavated at Huntley Street.

3.4.3 Personal Items and Clothing

Six personal items were found at Huntley Street. The two buttons are covered with a green patina and cannot be identified (Figure 3.30 c). There is no clasp or defining features on the length of chain found that can be utilised to identify the function of the chain (Figure 3.30 d). The green pocket knife is badly damaged, so no manufacturing detail is visible to date the knife to a specific period (Figure 3.30 b). A pair of scissors was also found (Figure 3.30 e) and the coin (Figure 3.30 f) found in the deposit post-dates the period under study (1932). The last personal item is a toy cavalry officer. The toy also post-dates the research period. This figurine was utilised by Jeppson (2005) to determine the *terminus post quem* of Huntley Street as the figurine has a manufacture date (Copyright w-m Britain 26.8, 1904) on the belly of the horse (Figure 3.30 f).





Figure 3.30: Personal Items Excavated at Huntley Street.

a) Metal Cavalry Figurine; b) Pocket Knife; c) Buttons; d) Chain; e) Scissors; f) Coin.

3.4.4 Horseshoes

Horses were used by the military and for private use in the town. Horses were also available for hire, either for a full day or for half a day (Figure 3.31 d). Three shoes were excavated at Huntley Street. Figure 3.31 a was excavated from Layer D. This is the only complete horseshoe that was found in the site. There is evidence of toe and branch calks on the top of the horseshoe. There is also evidence of part of a toe clip on the left side of the horseshoe (Herskowitz 1978). Figure 3.31 b was excavated in one of the upper layers of the 1987 excavation unit (46 cm- 1m). This is a partial fragment and the width of the shoe cannot be conclusively measured to determine whether this shoe is from a horse or a mule. A similar situation exists with Figure 3.31 c found at 1.27 m to 1.3 m. It is also a fragment and cannot be identified. Below 2.27 m a diagnostic metal fragment that appears to be part of a stirrup was also found. The metal artefact is however water damaged and a decision was taken to list this artefact as unidentified (Type D1).



Figure 3.31: Horseshoes Excavate at Huntley Street.

d) Horses or Hire at the High Street Hotel (The Graham's Town Journal 30 December 1854)

3.4.5 Business Items

There is little evidence of the businesses in Grahamstown visible in the metal assemblage for the town. Two items were excavated. Figure 3.33 a is a butcher's hook that was excavated at 1 m-1.16 m and Figure 3.33 b is a rake that was excavated at 1.27 m-1.67 m.

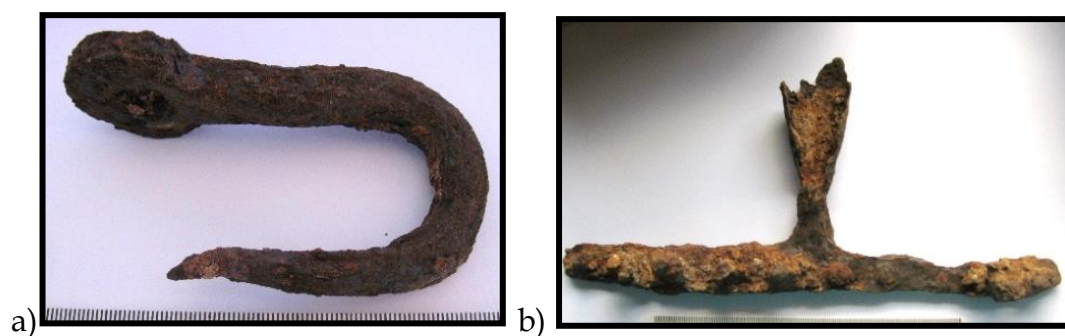


Figure 3.32: Business Items.

a) Butchers Hook, b) Rake.

3.5 HUNTLEY STREET CONCLUSION

The location of the excavations, close to the Cowie Creek, impacted the analysis that could be completed on the glass and metal artefacts at Huntley Street. Water damage is visible on the artefacts from 1.27 m below the surface. The excavations were also completed in stratigraphic layers and because of this the chronology of the site was spread over overlapping layers.

To counteract this overlap in the chronological layers the glass was analysed based on manufacturing methods. Because of this only three glass bottle finishes, and five body fragments were excluded from this research and dated to after the research period. A decision was also taken to exclude the glass bottle stoppers found in the upper layers of the 1987 unit from this research.

The glass and metal for sale in Grahamstown are visible in *The Graham's Town Journal* and in the artefact assemblage excavated at the site. Because of this the assemblage is an ideal control sample to compare the three sites. The assemblage also highlights the merchandise available in Grahamstown in the first half of the 19th century.

Case bottle glass is the largest alcoholic beverage class found at the site. The sturdy containers used to transport these bottles are ideal to transport these bottles overland to the towns in the interior. The alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverage bottles is also indicative of the wide range of products carried by the wine merchants in the town. Although the tableware and food preparation glass assemblages are small these items are also visible in the advertisements.

The metal assemblage was severely affected by the proximity of the excavations to the water. Construction materials and nails are the largest metal categories found at Huntley Street. These materials are indicative of the building that occurred in the town in the first four decades after the town was established. The small assemblage of personal items found in the units does not provide a clear record of the people resident in the town. Similarly, the business items and horseshoe assemblage are also small (Table 3.12).

Table 3.12: Summary of Diagnostic Metal Excavated at Huntley Street.

Description	Excavation Year	Excavation Depth	Number	Weight (g)
Business/Trade Items				
Butchers Hook	1987	HS 1 m-1.16 m	1	126.24
Clothing Items				
Buckle	1987	HS 1.90 m-2.27 m	1	21.67
Household Items				
Door Knob	1987	HS 46 cm -1 m	1	17.22
Picture Hook	1987	HS 46 cm -1 m	1	5.72
Rake	1987	HS 1.27 m-1.67 m	1	240.03
Maintenance				
Wire	1988	Layer B/Layer G	6	74.63
Wire	1987	HS 1.18 m-1.27 m/HS 46 cm -1 m/HS 38 cm-46 cm	8	46.84
Washers	1988	Layer B/Layer C/Layer E/	3	17.12
Zinc Piece	1988	Layer D	1	23.18
Personal Items				
Chains	1987	HS 46 cm -1 m	1	16.99
Pocket Knife	1987	HS 1.18 m-1.27 m	1	13.63
Cavalry Soldier	1987	HS 38 cm-46 cm	1	15.73
Misc				
Graphite	1987	HS 1.27 m-1.67 m	1	1.12
Transportation				
Horseshoes	1987	HS 46 cm -1m/HS 1.27m-1.3 m	3	147.15
Horseshoes	1988	Layer D	1	123.27
Other				
Coin	1987	HS 1.27 m-1.67 m	1	5.63
Shell Casings	1987	HS 16 cm-38 cm/HS 46 cm-1 m	2	15.89
Total			34	912.05

The excavations completed at Huntley Street, whether identified as the backlots for the homes bordering High Street, or as the town dump, provide a glimpse into the daily life of the people resident in Grahamstown in the early 19th century. Although the type of merchandise available was strongly influenced by the British population, everybody entering the town had access to the stores and the market in Grahamstown.

4 CHAPTER 4: FARMERFIELD²⁸ WESLEYAN MISSION STATION GLASS AND METAL ARTEFACT ANALYSIS

In this setting, the story of missions in their historical context, it is hoped that some of the false romanticism surrounding the missionary enterprise will be dissipated. A frank admission of the ambivalence of the missionary contribution in modern history will not detract from, but later enhance, the record of its genuine achievement... Warren 1967: 12.

The mission residents were prepared to follow the missionaries from one station posting to the next (Etherington 1976²⁹). This was evident at Farmerfield. When his congregants approached Shaw to purchase land on their behalf Vernal (2009: 414) believes they exhibited a “familiarity with what Christianity actually meant in practice.” The mission congregants sought more than a safe place of refuge. By actively involving themselves in a search for a place to farm, and to live, the congregants showed that they wanted to control their own lives. When most mission stations were in the hinterland and on the frontier, the location of Farmerfield, near the two well-established Settler towns of Salem and Grahamstown, was a major *coup* for the Wesleyan church.

The mission’s location also placed the mission residents in direct contact with Settler farms. The station was able to trade with Salem, Grahamstown and the farmers close to the mission. The residents at Farmerfield had a quantifiable stake in the economy of both towns. Farmerfield was also not subject to the same restrictions and controls that were imposed on stations in the interior. The residents required no permits to trade and all prospective traders were on an equal footing as the missionary no longer had the overarching control over trade that he enjoyed on the border.

²⁸ SAHRA ID 9/02/003/0044

²⁹ Etherington (1976: 598) puts the percentage of people who were prepared to move with the missionary as high as 14%.

Historical archaeologists have studied the complicated way in which indigenous populations responded to missionaries and conversion. Christianity was a “colonial package” (Graham 1998: 29) and the way people responded to religion was an indication of which part of the missionaries’ message was accepted, and which part was rejected.

Researchers, like Fast (1991: 56), debated how effectively archaeologists would be able to understand why the Xhosa rejected Christianity. She believed that the Gospel was “mostly understandable to those who had become westernized and individualistic”. She also researched the people who chose to become missionaries and highlighted the economic and educational background of those who would eventually take the role of “mechanic missionaries” at the stations.

Excavations were completed at all four hamlets. At *Middel Plaas* artefact scatters were collected at two locations: the compact surface of the school playground and the foundation of a rectangular stone structure located behind the school building near the church. Two areas were also identified for test excavations, a soil feature and a soil mound. At *Elisutho* middens were excavated at two locations close to the extant mud walls of the original homes.

Modern farmhouses now obscure the original location of the *Endulini* hamlet. A grid was laid out in the plantation to collect the artefacts visible in the furrows of the pineapple plantation. Two test trenches were dug close to the grid and a kraal was also identified and excavated to provide a comparison between the disturbed artefacts and those still *in situ* (Jeppson 2005: 173-176). At *Emakhobokeni* a midden was exposed in the north bank by a road cut for a dirt road that runs over the saddle of the hill towards the town of Salem. Test trenches and excavations were completed at this hamlet.

The clear demarcation between the hamlets allows the material culture of the mission to be analysed in three different ways. Firstly, the hamlets are then looked at as separate entities to show how the individual population groups assimilated the material available to them and used these items to signify their

own identity. It also highlights the differences between the residence of the missionary at *Middel Plaas* and the three hamlets occupied by the indigenous groups. Secondly, the four hamlets are analysed as a complete unit. This allows the research to identify the uniform identity that was projected by each of the hamlets for the benefit of the missionary. Finally, Farmerfield functions as a point of comparison with the Huntley Street and Fort Double Drift.

Due to the success of the mission the congregants at Farmerfield could purchase what was available in Salem and in Grahamstown. The glass and metal available in the two Settler towns appealed to a newly established congregation of converts who were developing an identity afforded to them by the establishment of a thriving farming community under the auspices of the Wesleyan church. In the analysis the new purchases of the converts are offset against the fact that the missionary and his family were also consumers.

The glass at Farmerfield is commercial and emblematic of the imports arriving in the towns from the coast. The metal is symbolic of the new skills gained by the congregants, e.g. the introduction of the European plough. The metal may also mirror the professions that were taught to the residents at the mission. It is not possible to rule out that some of the metal excavated at the mission was not purchased in the towns. Lastly, as the people from the mission became actively involved in the town by undertaking transport riding, it is also possible that some of the metal may be related to this profession and to the ensuing purchases made by the transport riders for themselves and on behalf of other mission residents.

4.1 GLASS ARTEFACT ANALYSIS AT FARMERFIELD

The glass excavated at each of the four hamlets is discussed separately. This was done to establish whether the different character of each of these hamlets would be visible in the glass and to focus on how each of these hamlets fitted into the whole site. By separating the analysis, it enables the research to focus on possible consumer preferences at each of the hamlets. In keeping with the hypothesis that the missionary would have had access to all the products available in the towns

and assimilated a large part of these items into their daily life at the mission, the hamlet at *Middel Plaas* will serve as a control sample for the whole mission. For this reason, *Middle Plaas* will be analysed first. A total of 878 undiagnostic sherds were found in 10 different colours (Figure 4.1). A total of 110 diagnostic fragments was found at the mission and the MNV count for the site is 60 vessels. Of these 60 vessels, 25 are tableware (41.6%) (Table 4.1).

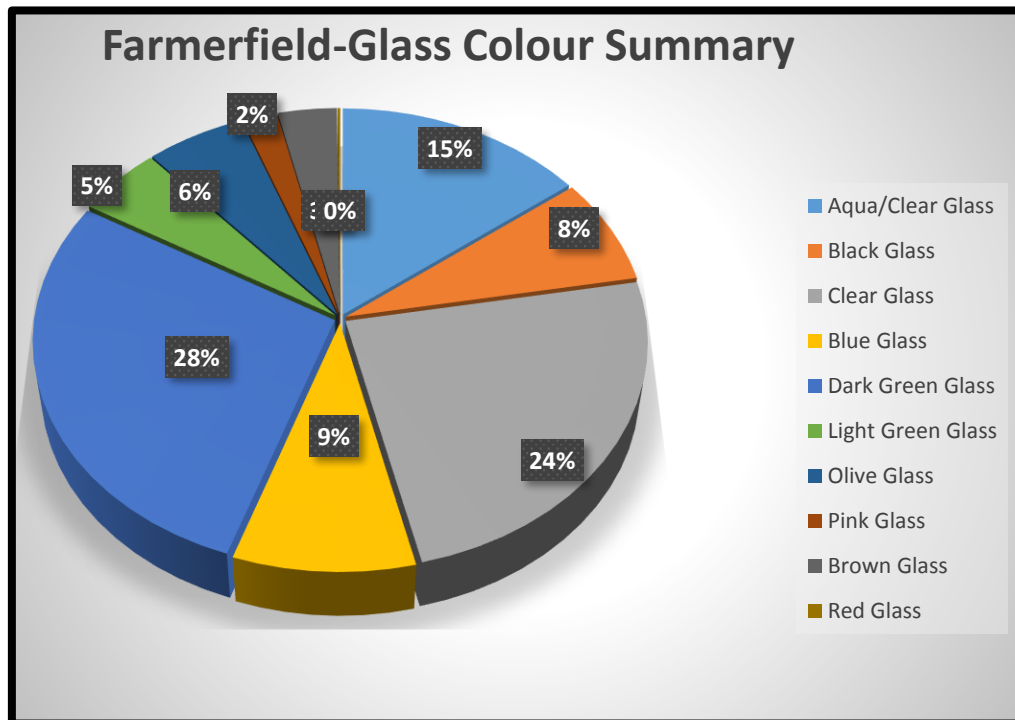


Figure 4.1: Glass Colour Summary-Farmerfield

Table 4.1: Glass Summary for Farmerfield-All Sites (*including embossed fragments).

FARMERFIELD-SITE TOTAL (ALL LOCATIONS)	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder/ Body	Base	Finish	Lip/ Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	%MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
<u>BOTTLE GLASS</u>													
Aqua/Clear	93	316.04	16	372.60	3	3	3	5	2	8	13.3%	109	688.64
Black	48	428.75	12	738.20	1	3	1	2	5	5	8.3%	60	1166.95
Blue	57	118.66	2	17.73	1	0	1	0	0	2	3.3%	59	136.39
Brown	22	59.37	1	26.94	1	0	1	0	0	1	1.7%	23	86.31
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	153	305.48	17	78.16	4	1	4	7	1	5	8.3%	170	383.64
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	179	773.72	10	392.02	0	2	3	3	2	4	6.7%	189	1465.74
Light Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00
Light Green (Including Evergreen*)	32	147.43	7	76.02	1	0	2	1*	3	3	5.0%	39	223.45
Olive	37	190.28	16	433.03	1	2	3	3	6	5	8.3%	53	623.31
Pink	13	29.77	3	10.22	1	0	1	1	0	2	3.3%	16	39.99
Red	1	2.88	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	1	2.88
<u>OTHER</u>													
CLOSURES	0	0.00	1	6.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	1	6.32
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	25	256.99	0	0	0	0	0	25	41.8%	25	256.99
WINDOW GLASS	243	249.76	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	243	249.76
UNDIAGNOSTIC	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00
<u>TOTAL</u>	878	2622.14	110	2708.23	13	11	19	22	19	60	100.00%	988	5330.37

4.1.1 *Middel Plaas* Hamlet

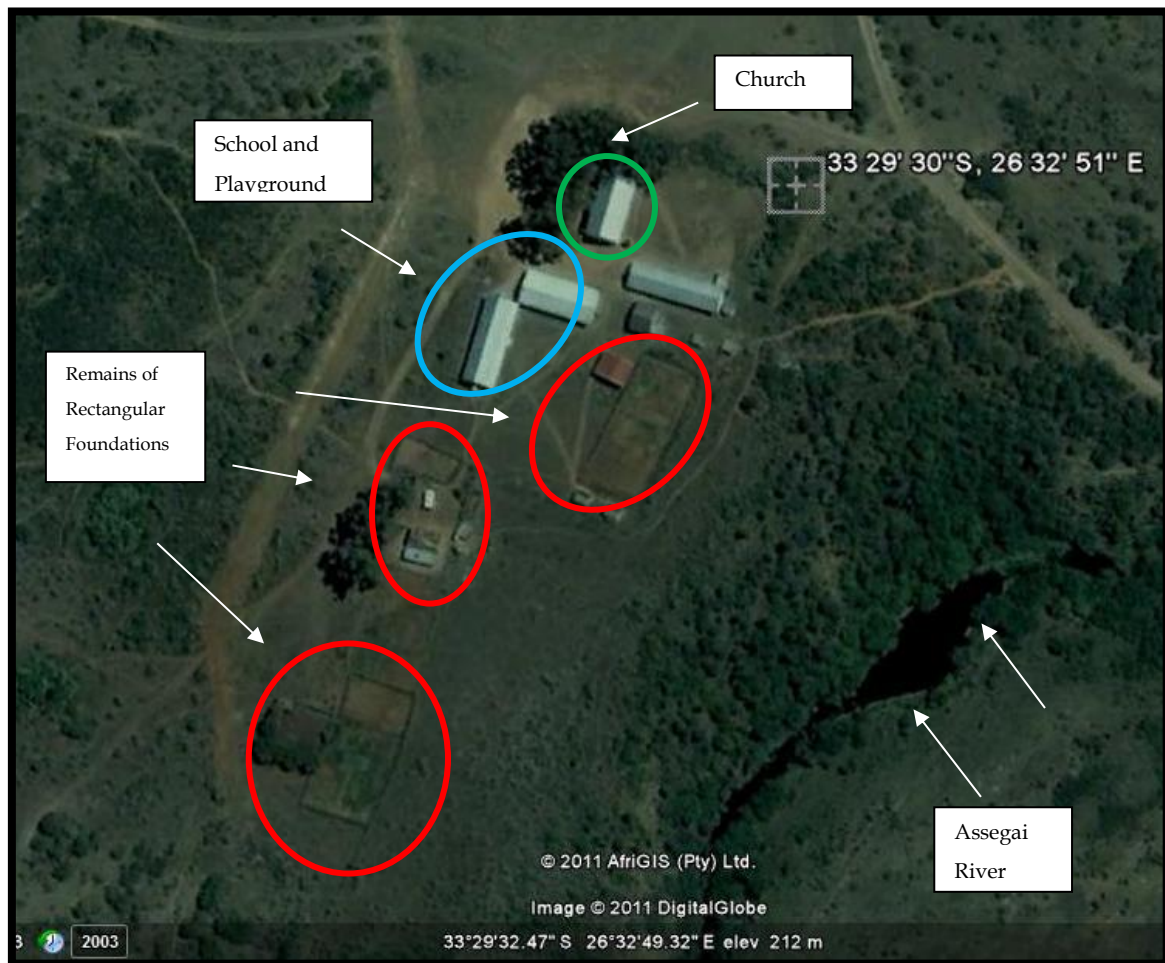


Figure 4.2: The Location of *Middel Plaas*-Present Day (Google Earth 2011).³⁰

The diagnostic glass excavated at *Middel Plaas* (Figure 4.2) can be divided into seven different categories: bottle glass (alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages), cosmetic glass, food preparation vessels, household glass, medicinal glass, window glass and tableware (Figure 4.3). A total of 38 diagnostic fragments were excavated at *Middel Plaas*. The diagnostic glass is summarised in Table 4.1. The undiagnostic glass (n=487) can be divided into 10 different colours. A total of 227 window glass fragments is included in this total.

The contexts of the excavations completed at *Middel Plaas* are unclear. The exact locations of three of the excavations at this hamlet are unknown. The locations of

³⁰ 33° 29' 30'' S and 26° 32' 51'' E are the co-ordinates given for Farmerfield in Jeppson's (2005) research.

the soil mound and the soil feature are not stated in the documentation for this excavation. Although there are three rectangular structures visible on the aerial photograph for *Middel Plaas* it is not known which of these structures was excavated. Furthermore, the total surface area of the excavated areas at *Middel Plaas* is also unknown.

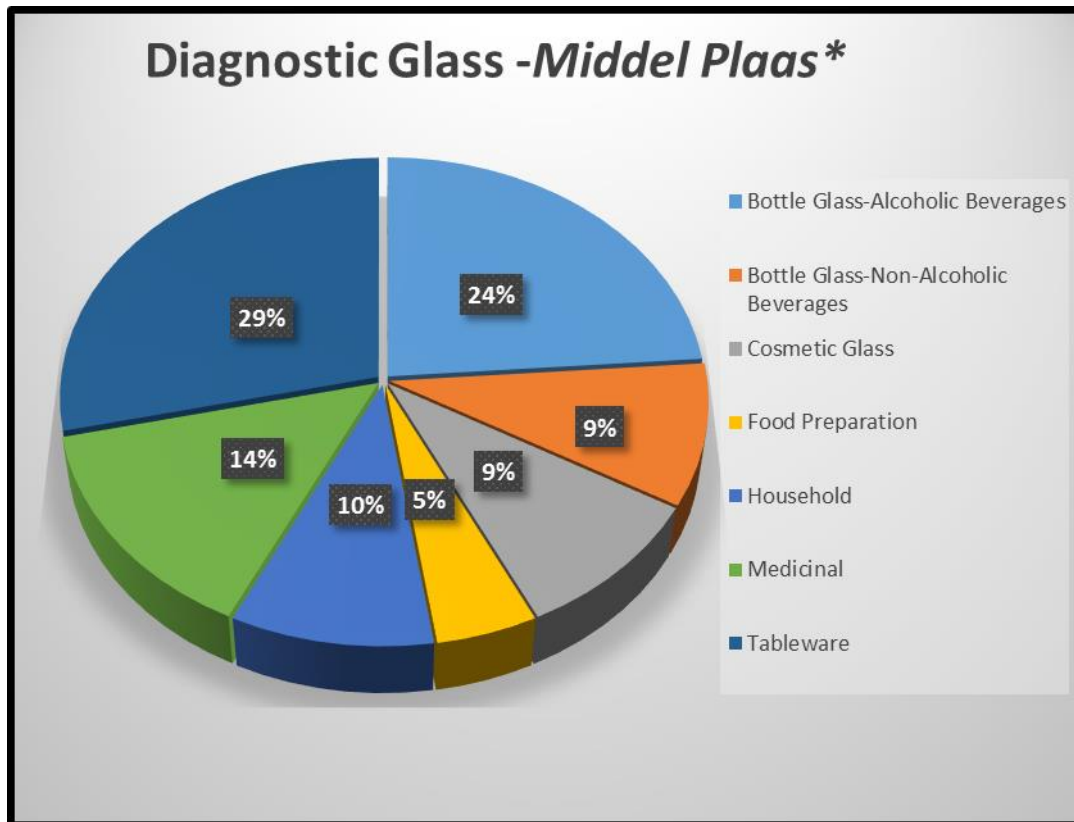


Figure 4.3: Diagnostic Glass Breakdown for Middel Plaas (*Excluding Window Glass).

No complete bottles were excavated at this hamlet. Most of the diagnostic fragments are finish fragments (n=16), accounting for 42% of the total assemblage. Seven of the finish fragments are large enough to identify to specific glass vessels. The remaining nine fragments can be identified as finishes but are too small to attribute to a specific glass type.

While base fragments are characteristically more durable than finish fragments there are only six base fragments at *Middel Plaas* (15%). The second largest glass category is tableware (n=10) which accounts for 26% of the total diagnostic glass. The majority of the window glass (94%) was found in the two test excavations

completed at the soil feature and the soil mound. The remaining 6% were found in the rectangular stone structure. The bottle glass is divided into alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages. The four bottle finish fragments and one body fragment are summarised in Table 4.3. The four main alcoholic beverage categories are wine, champagne, brandy and beer. The single body fragment embossed with the letters “...ublin” is from a Dublin Breweries beer bottle (Figure 4.4a-e).

Table 4.2: Glass Summary for Middel Plaas (*including embossed fragments).

FARMERFIELD-MIDDEL PLAAS (ALL LOCATIONS)	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder /Body	Base	Finish	Lip/Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	%MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
CONTAINER/BOTTLE													
Aqua/Clear	34	89.51	5	126.06	2*	1	1	0	1	4	16.0%	39	215.57
Black	4	34.92	5	386.15	0	1	1	1	2	2	8.0%	9	421.07
Blue	25	41.54	1	6.40	1	0	0	0	0	1	4.0%	26	47.94
Brown	15	31.77	0	0.00	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	15	36.77
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	95	183.90	9	50.86	2*	0	2	5	0	4	16.0%	104	234.76
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	64	238.40	2	83.39	0	0	1	1	0	1	4.00%	66	321.79
Light Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Light Green	8	14.73	3	40.17	0	0	2	0	1	2	8.0%	11	54.90
Olive	9	51.13	2	43.21	1	0	1	0	0	1	4.0%	11	94.34
Pink	5	10.58	1	4.21	0	0	1	0	0	1	4.0%	6	14.79
Red	1	2.88	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	2.88
OTHER													
CLOSURES	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	10	102.92	0	0	0	0	0	9	36.0%	10	102.92
WINDOW GLASS	226	235.83	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	226	235.83
UNDIAGNOSTIC	1	3.83	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	3.83
TOTAL	487	939.02	38	843.37	7	2	9	7	4	25	100.00%	525	1787.39

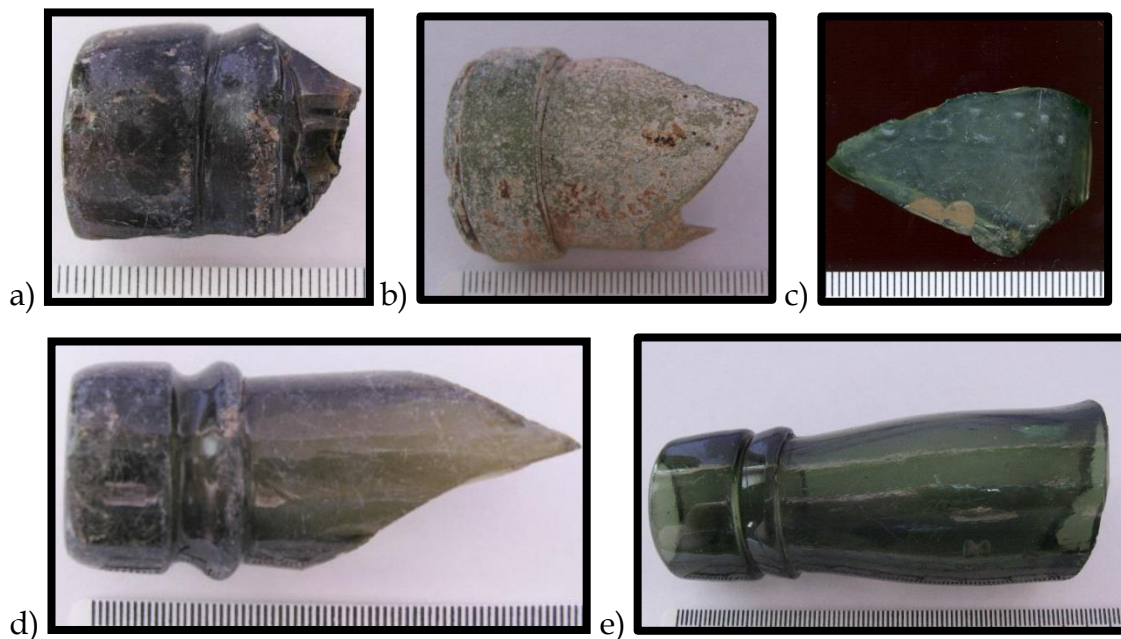


Figure 4.4: Alcoholic Bottle Glass Fragments Excavated at Middel Plaas.

a) Brandy Bottle or Beer Bottle (Goodman 1993); b) Champagne or Wine Bottle (Odell 2003); c) Dublin Breweries Beer Bottle; d) Brandy bottle (Jones 1986: 33,71; Odell 2003), e) Wine or Brandy Bottle (Jones 1986:33, 47).

Table 4.3: Alcoholic Finish and Body Fragment Summary for the Excavation Completed at *Middel Plaas*.

Excavation Unit	Photograph	Qty	Champagne	Wine	Spirits	Whiskey	Brandy	Beer	Ale	Stout	Porter
FMF MP SS1	Figure 4.3 a	1					√	√			
FMF MP SS1	Figure 4.3 b	1					√	√			
FMF MP SS1	Figure 4.3 c	1		√			√				
FMF MP SS1	Figure 4.3d	1	√	√							
FMF MP SS1	Figure 4.3e	1						√			

Two non-alcoholic bottle finish fragments were identified. One of the fragments (Figure 4.5 b), a soda bottle, dates to post 1902 and will be excluded from this research. This fragment was found in one of the two test excavations (MP NE¹/₄). The exact location of these two excavations is unknown. As such it is unclear whether this excavation was close to any area currently utilised at Farmerfield or whether this fragment is intrusive. The second fragment is from a carbonated beverage bottle.

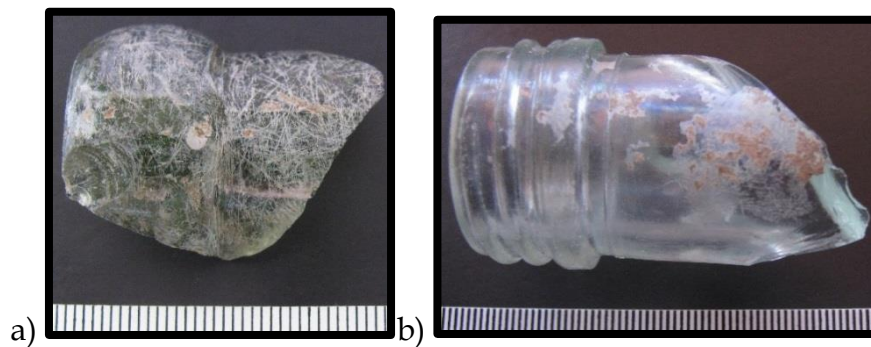


Figure 4.5: Non-Alcoholic Beverage Bottle Glass Excavated at *Middel Plaas*.

a) Codd Bottle Finish/Carbonated Beverage Bottle (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982: 19); b) Modern Coldrink Bottle.

The four small bottle base fragments can be divided into two different colours. Three of the bases are dark green in colour while the fourth base fragment is a light green colour. All four of the bases are too small to identify to a specific vessel type. The two remaining bases are unidentified (Type B1 and Type B2). Both of these base fragments are moulded (Lindsey 2013 f). Moulded glass also post-dates the period of time under study. The black base has three mamelons in a straight line across the middle of the base and the aqua clear base has a single mamelon in the centre of the base.

A small quantity of medicinal container glass was collected in the surface surveys at *Middel Plaas*: two druggist bottle finishes with prescription lips (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982: 18; American Historical Catalog Collection) and the base and partial body of a glass medicine bottle (Figure 4.6 a-c). The width of the bore on

the finish fragments appear to indicate that the bottles contained solids instead of liquids (Jones 1975: 3-4). The base is rectangular with rounded corners. Medicine measure lines used to control dosage are visible in the left-hand corner of the photograph (Figure 4.6 c). These measured doses appear to indicate that the bottle contained liquid. Examples of this type of medicine bottle are attached below (Figure 4.6 d).



Figure 4.6: Medicinal Glass: Found at *Middel Plaas*.
a)- b) Druggist Bottle Finishes; c) Medicine Bottle d) Medicinal Glass Bottles with Measure Lines (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982: 43).

Five tableware and dessert vessels (Figure 4.7 a-d) were excavated at *Middel Plaas*. Apart from the two fragments of the grape patterned glass (Figure 4.7 d) (Jones et al 1989: 31), the rest of the vessels are single fragments. Figure 4.7 e and f are two candlestick holders. Figure 4.7 c is a small cut-glass fragment from a decanter. An

example of a decanter is attached below (Figure 4.7 g). Figure 4.7 h is a body fragment from a Holbrook and Co Worcestershire sauce bottle.

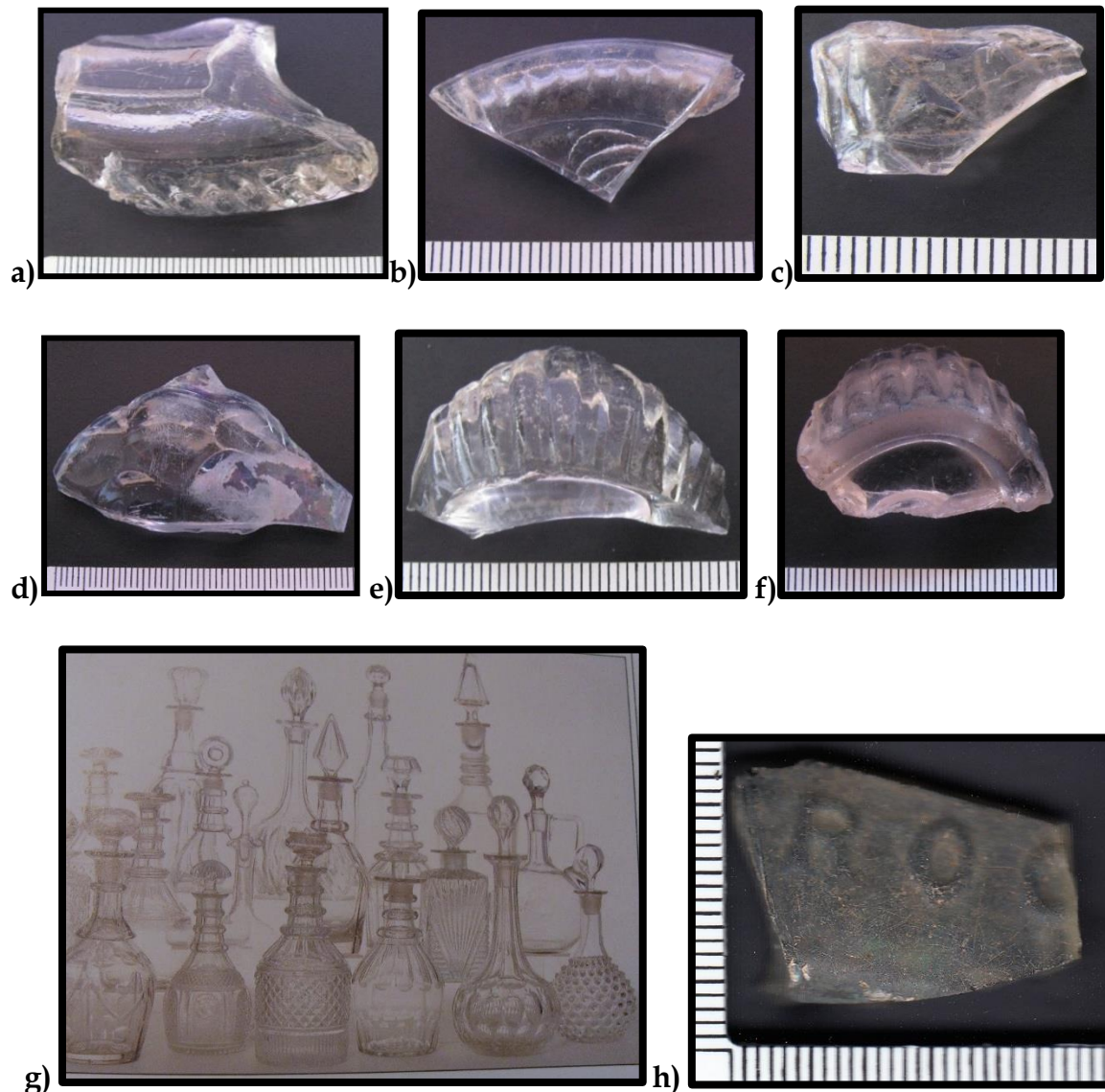


Figure 4.7: Tableware and Dessert Vessels Excavated at Middel Plaas.

a)-b) Dessert Vessels; c) Decanter, d) Dessert Vessel with Moulded Grape Pattern; e)-f) Candlestick Holders; g) Glass Decanters (Marshall 1990), h) Body Fragment from a Holbrook and Co Worcestershire Sauce.

Four cosmetic containers were excavated at Middel Plaas. Two of the four fragments are unidentified (Type B3 and B4). Figure 4.8 a is a side fragment for a jar for ointments or creams. Figure 4.8 b is a small bottle with a narrow bore used for perfumes or essence.

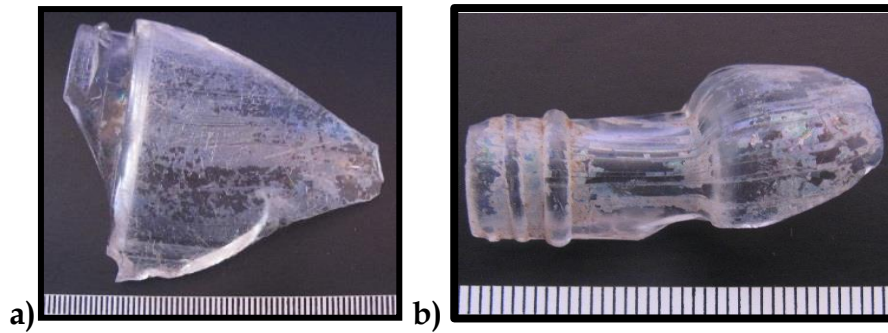


Figure 4.8: Cosmetic Glass Excavated at *Middel Plaas*.
a) Cosmetic Jar b) Vase, b) Perfume or Essence Bottle.

4.1.2 *Endulini* Hamlet



Figure 4.9: Location of the *Endulini* Hamlet.

A total of 44 diagnostic fragments was excavated at *Endulini* (Figure 4.10 & Table 4.4). Seven categories of glass were identified: bottle glass (alcoholic and non-alcoholic), food preparation glass, tableware, cosmetic glass, window glass and glass beads. The variance between the total number of finish fragments ($n=15$) and the total number of base fragments ($n=19$) is nominal. Of these totals, 13 of the base fragments and eight finish fragments are too small to identify. This hamlet has the second largest quantity of window glass ($n=11$, 4.5% of assemblage). A total of 273 undiagnostic fragments was excavated in 10 different colours. One

sherd is listed in Table 4.4 as undiagnostic. The colour of this sherd could not be determined due to vitrification.

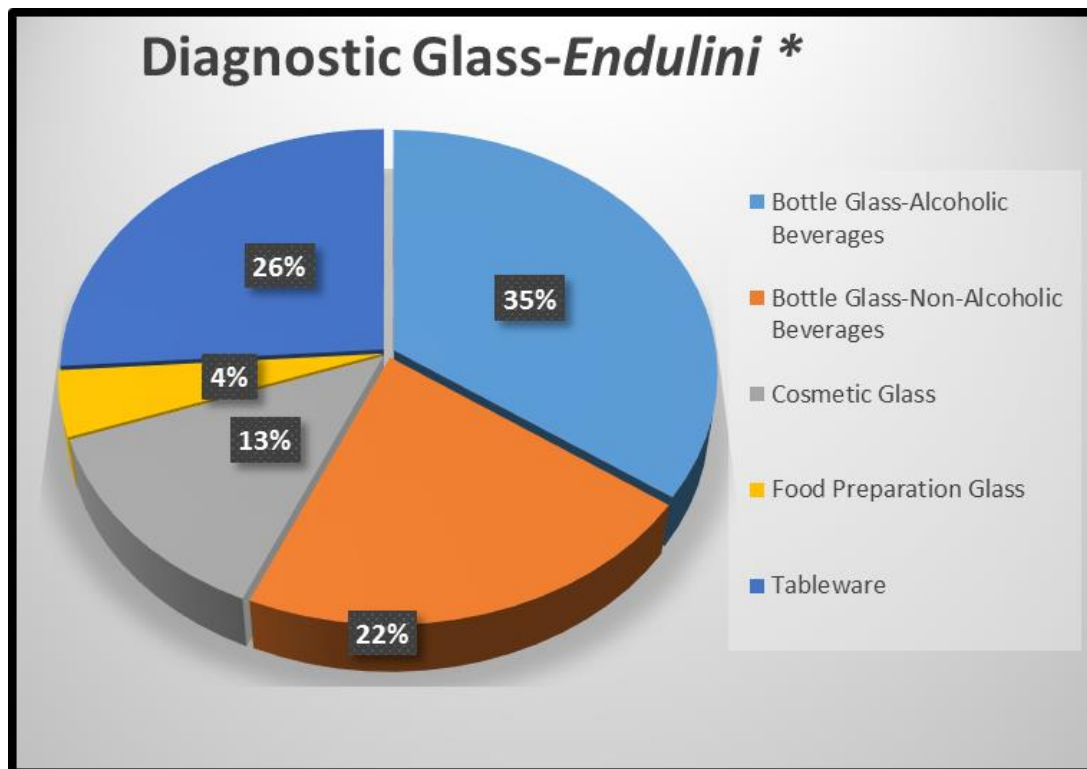


Figure 4.10: Diagnostic Glass Breakdown for Endulini (* Excluding Window Glass).

Table 4.4: Glass Summary for the Excavation Completed at Endulini (*including embossed fragments).

FARMERFIELD- ENDULINI (ALL LOCATIONS)	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder /Body	Base	Finish	Lip/Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	%MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
CONTAINER/ BOTTLE													
Aqua/Clear	31	98.95	4	65.18	0	1	1	1	1	2	9.1%	35	164.13
Black	40	341.90	7	352.05	1	2	0	1	3	3	13.7%	47	693.95
Blue	31	76.26	1	11.33	0	0	1	0	0	1	4.5%	32	87.59
Brown	5	25.75	1	26.94	0	0	1	0	0	1	4.5%	6	52.69
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	27	83.37	3	11.49	0	0	1	1	1	1	4.5%	30	94.86
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	76	237.59	4	256.84	0	1	1	0	2	2	9.1%	80	494.43
Light Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Light Green	21	121.26	4	35.85	1	0	0	1	2	1	4.5%	25	157.11
Olive	22	128.96	12	385.65	1	2	2	3	4	4	18.3%	34	514.61
Pink	8	19.19	2	6.01	1	0	0	1	0	1	4.5%	10	25.20
Red	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
OTHER													
CLOSURES	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	6	79.31	0	0	0	0	0	6	27.3%	6	79.31
WINDOW GLASS	11	7.21	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	11	7.21
UNDIAGNOSTIC	1	7.38	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	7.38
TOTAL	273	1147.82	44	1230.65	4	6	7	8	13	22	100.00%	317	2378.47

Bottle glass is the largest glass category at Endulini. The alcoholic and non-alcoholic glass accounts for 57% of the glass found at this hamlet. The finish fragments excavated at this site are summarised in Table 4.4. At Endulini the predominant alcoholic beverages are whiskey, brandy and beer (Figure 4.11 a-c, e

and g). The non-alcoholic beverages are from mineral water, carbonated beverages, Codd bottles and soda bottles. A single finish fragment for an oil bottle was also found (Figure 4.11 h).

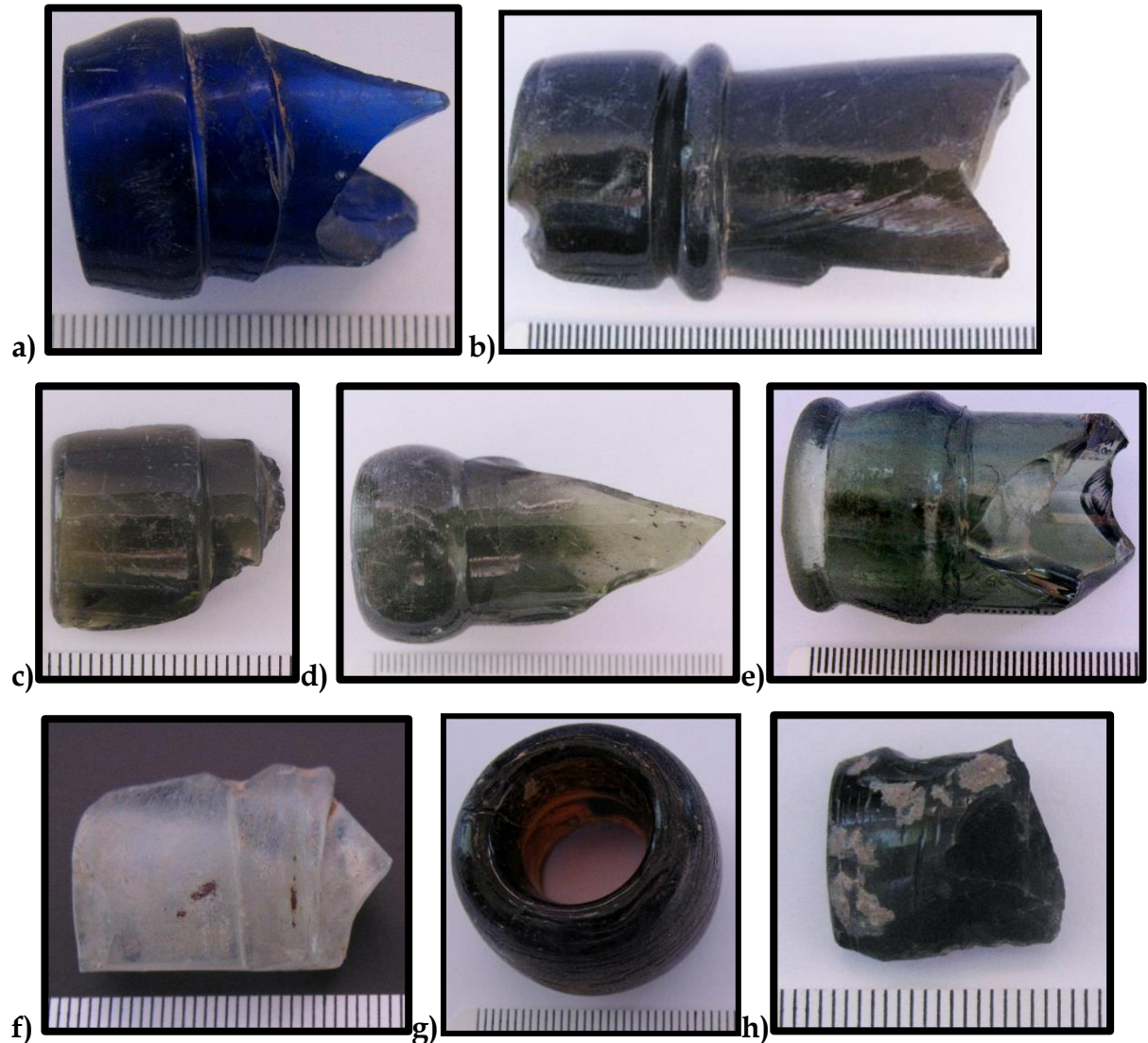


Figure 4.11: Glass Finish Fragments Excavated at Endulini.

a) Brandy Bottle or Carbonated Beverage Bottle; b) Brandy Bottle; c) Beer Bottle; d) Soda/Carbonated Beverage Bottle (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982: 19); e) Crown Top Carbonated Beverage/Mineral Water or Beer Bottle; f) Codd Bottle Finish; g) Rounded Soda Bottle Finish or a Whiskey Bottle Finish, h) Oil Bottle.

Table 4.5: Diagnostic Finish Fragments Excavated at Endulini.

Excavation Unit	Photograph	Qty	Soda/Mineral Water	Champagne	Wine	Spirits	Whiskey	Brandy	Beer
FMF XH C2W Surface Collection	Figure 4.10 a	1	√					√	
FMF XH C2W Surface Collection	Figure 4.10 b	1						√	
FMF XH C3E Surface Collection	Figure 4.10 c	1							√
FMF XH C3E Surface Collection	Figure 4.10 d	1	√						
FMF XH C4W Surface Collection	Figure 4.10 e	1	√						√
FMF XH B3E Surface Collection	Figure 4.10 f	1	√						
FMF XH DW Surface Collection	Figure 4.10 g	1	√				√		
FMF XH DW Surface Collection	Figure 4.10 h	1		√					

An analysis of the body and base fragments highlighted additional glass categories. Three wine bottle bases were excavated (Table 4.6). There were however no finish fragments found for wine or champagne bottles. A base fragment for an Appolonis beer bottle (Figure 4.12 b) was found and a bottle body fragment for either a brandy or a beer bottle (Figure 4.12 a). A single light green body fragment found in Row B is unidentified (Type B5). Test 3 was the only test excavation that produced diagnostic glass and a champagne bottle fragment was excavated in this test (Figure 4.12 c).



Figure 4.12: Glass Base Fragments Excavated at Endulini.

a) Broad Cylindrical Bottle Base for Wine and Champagne Bottles (Jones 1986: 85); b) Appolonis Beer Bottle; d) Champagne Bottle Base.

Table 4.6: Diagnostic Base Fragments Excavated at Endulini.

Excavation Unit	Photograph	Qty	Wine	Champagne	Whiskey	Brandy	Beer	Ale	Stout	Porter
FMF XH C2W Surface Collection	Figure 4.11 a	1	✓							
FMF XH C2W Surface Collection	Figure 4.11 b	1					✓			
FMF XH C3E Surface Collection	Figure 4.11 c	1		✓						

There is evidence of glass refurbishment at this hamlet. An olive champagne bottle base (Figure 4.13) appears to have been modified for use as a container. The base has been sheared off close to the heel. This could possibly have been achieved by using the procedure described in Stuart (1993). String is soaked with methylated spirits before being placed around the bottle at the desired height. This string is then heated to shear off the bottle at the desired height. The smooth sides on the container appear to support the way in which the rest of the bottle was removed. This could also however be an indication of extensive use.

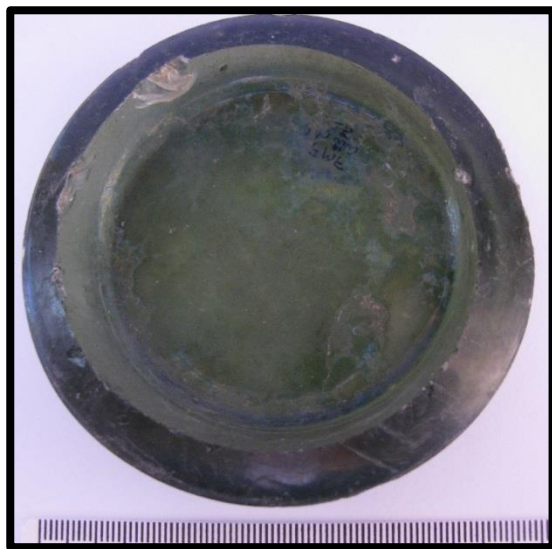


Figure 4.13: Modified Bottle Base Excavated at Endulini.

Six tableware fragments were excavated at *Endulini*. The assemblage has one item in common with the tableware excavated at *Middel Plaas*, a pink candle holder fragment (Figure 4.14 c). The two ribbed glass fragments (Figure 4.14 a-b) are both rim fragments (Hedges 1989). The ribbed glass is indicative of the service dishes and dessert bowls of the early 19th century. The two fragments are too small to identify to a specific vessel. A single glass tumbler fragment was also found (Figure 4.14 d) and a delicate glass decanter fragment with a cross-hatched pattern

(Figure 4.14 e). Four fragments from cosmetic or perfume bottles were excavated at *Endulini* (Type B9-B12). All four of the fragments are unidentified.

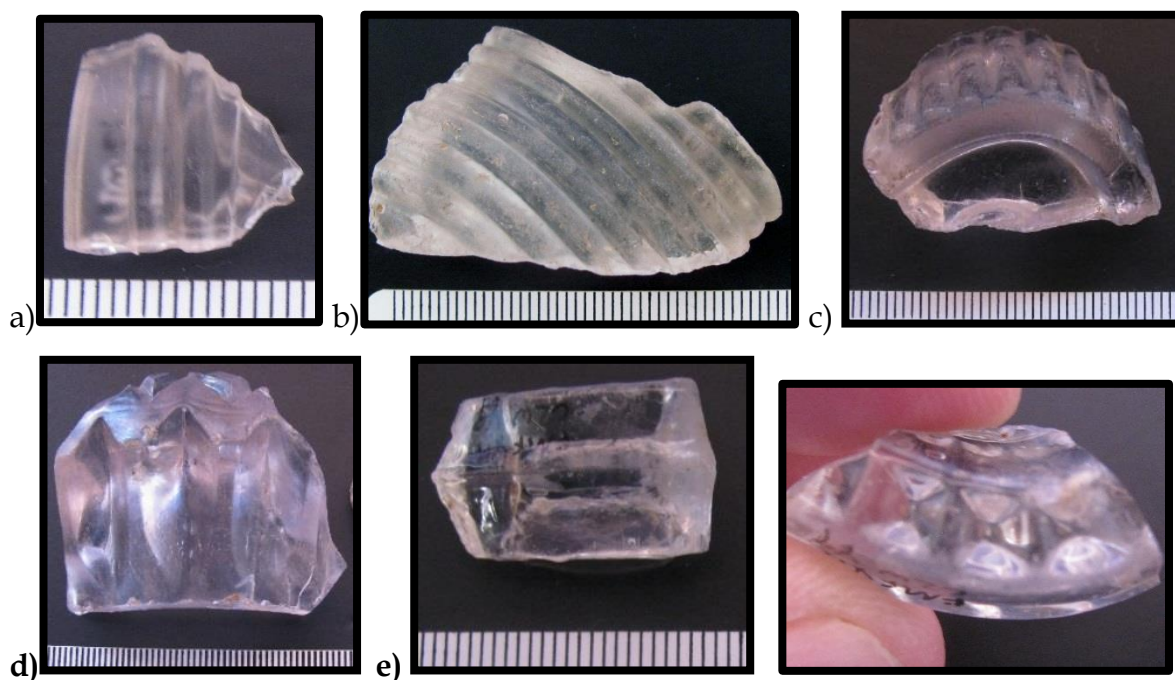


Figure 4.14: Tableware Excavated at *Endulini*.
a)-b) Dessert Vessels; c) Candle Holder; d) Tumbler Fragment; e) Decanter Fragment.

Although the excavation at the kraal was completed to offer a comparison to the surface collection, the glass assemblage at the kraal is very small. A ‘padre’ bead (Biemond personal communication: 2014, Wood 2014) was found at the kraal (Figure 4.15 a). These beads are characteristic of missionary sites in Mexico and America. Missionaries imported beads into the Cape Colony in the early 19th century to save costs (Beck 1989: 218).

Jeppson (2005) noted during the original excavation that there was cross contamination in the plough zone and that the older and new materials had become intermingled during ploughing. This fact was confirmed during the analysis. Modern glass was also found at the Stoney Hill hamlet excavation and Test 3. All glass post-dating the research period was excluded from this analysis (A light green moulded bottle base). A complete moulded finish and neck fragment was also excavated. This bottle finish is from a sauce bottle (Figure 4.15 b). Two additional bases found in the plough zone also post-date the research period: a Lamont bottle and a Talana bottle. Both are excluded from the research.

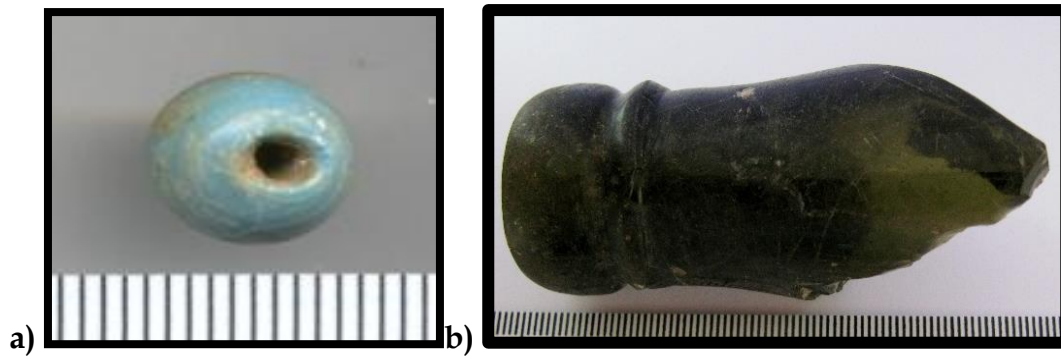


Figure 4.15: Glass Bead and Sauce Bottle Excavated at the Kraal in the *Endulini* Hamlet.

4.1.3 *Elisutho* Hamlet



Figure 4.16: *Elisutho* Location in Relation to *Middel Plaas* (Google Earth 2016) (Labels and Arrows Added).

All the remaining mission station inhabitants were relocated to *Elisutho* when part of the mission land was sold. The modern-day housing settlement is still located in the same position as the original hamlet. The remains of the mud-walled square

houses from the old hamlet are visible on the hillside behind the modern buildings (Figure 4.16).

A total of 23 diagnostic glass fragments were found in the two middens excavated at *Elisutho* (Figure 4.17). Nine of the fragments are from tableware and one of the diagnostic fragments is a bottle closure. Of the remaining 10 fragments the finish fragments (n=7) exceed the base fragments (n=3). Only one finish and one base fragment are large enough to identify. Three different categories were identified at the two middens: alcoholic beverage bottles, window glass and tableware. Table 4.7 summarises the glass found at *Elisutho*. A total of 98 undiagnostic fragments were also excavated in eight different colours.

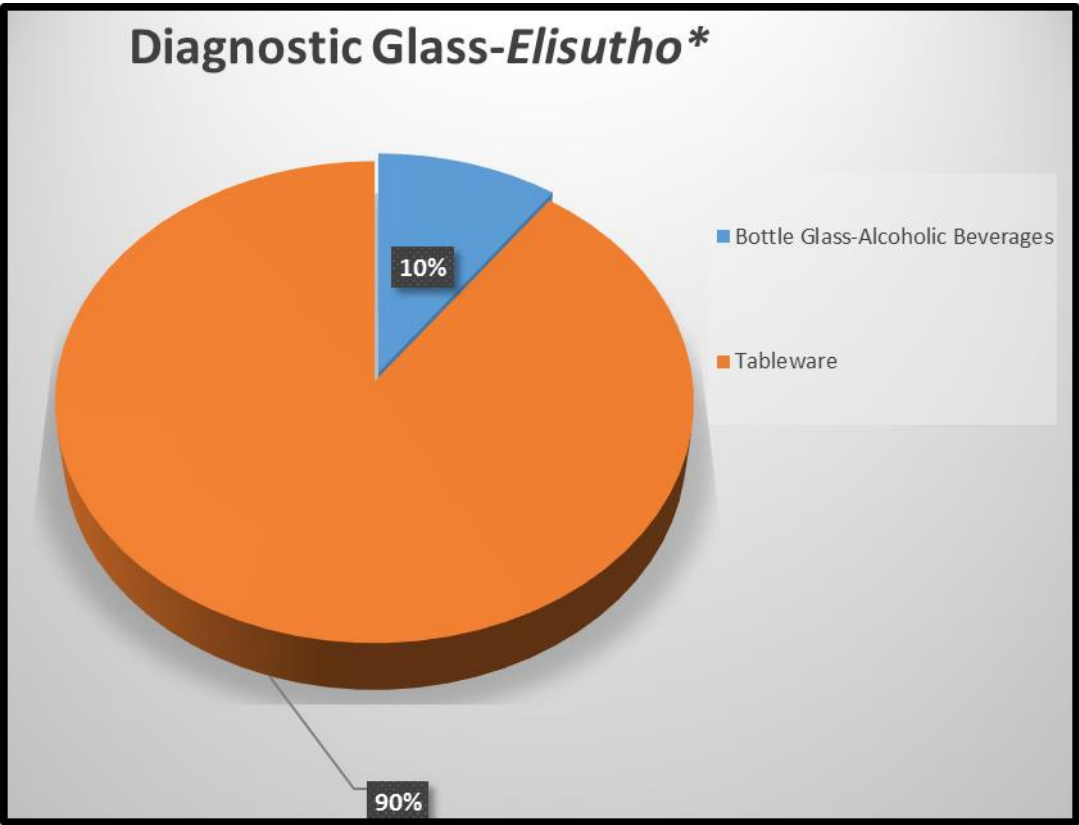


Figure 4.17: Diagnostic Glass Breakdown for Elisutho (*Excluding Window Glass).

Table 4.7: Glass Summary for the Excavation Completed at *Elisutho* (*including embossed fragments).

FARMERFIELD- ELISUTHO (ALL LOCATIONS)	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder/ Body	Base	Finish	Lip/Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	%MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
CONTAINER/BOTTLE													
Aqua/Clear	25	116.57	6	45.21	1	0	1	4	0	1	9.1%	31	161.78
Black	2	36.08	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	2	36.08
Blue	1	0.86	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	1	0.86
Brown	2	1.85	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	2	1.85
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	20	26.51	2	4.69	2	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	22	31.20
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	33	275.14	3	306.39	0	1	0	2	0	1	9.1%	36	581.83
Light Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00
Light Green	3	11.44	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	3	11.44
Olive	6	10.19	2	4.17	0	0	0	0	2	0	0.00%	8	14.36
Pink	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00
Red	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00
CLOSURES	0	0.00	1	6.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	6.32
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	9	74.76	0	0	0	0	0	9	81.8%	9	74.76
WINDOW GLASS	5	6.31	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	5	6.31
UNDIAGNOSTIC	1	4.62	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	4.62
TOTAL	98	489.57	23	441.84	3	1	1	6	2	11	100.00%	121	931.41

The diagnostic glass assemblages at the two middens are different. At the first midden the diagnostic glass is predominantly from food preparation bottles, condiment bottles and tableware. Three additional diagnostic fragments were also excavated from this midden: a complete wine bottle base (Figure 4.18 a), the body and base from a homeopathic vial (Figure 4.18 e) and a near complete glass bottle with a cracked off finish and an oval body. The heel and base of this bottle are missing but the body of the bottle is intact. This bottle is unidentified (Type B6).

Three beads were also excavated (Figure 4.18 b-d) in this midden: a light blue wound opaque bead that resembles the 'padre' bead discussed above, a white/clear wound translucent bead and a black opaque mould-pressed black bead from Bohemia introduced in the 1860s (Beck 1973). In the second midden two diagnostic fragments were found; a clear embossed fragment and an aqua clear finish. Both fragments are unidentified. The embossed fragment is too small to identify and a partial letter is visible on the fragment.

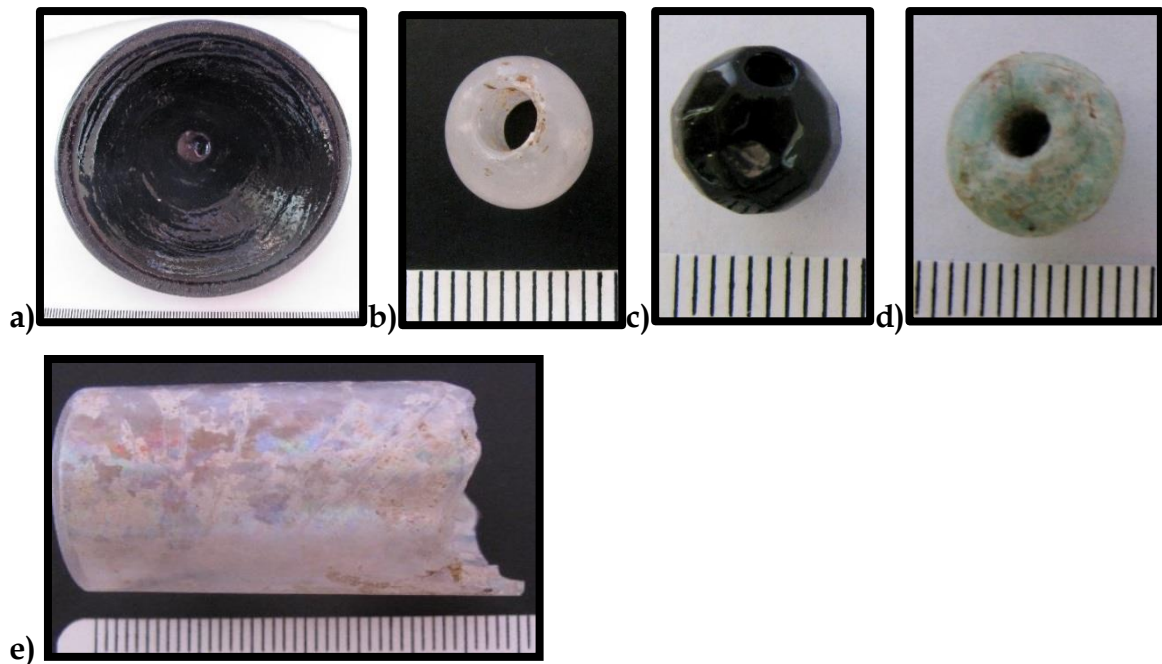


Figure 4.18: Diagnostic Glass Found in the First Midden at *Elisutho*.
a) Cylindrical Wine Bottle Base; b)-d) Glass Beads; e) Homeopathic Vial.

The tableware (Figure 4.19 a-f) excavated at *Elisutho* is more intricate and decorative than the tableware excavated at *Middel Plaas*. This is aptly shown by a glass fragment with an acid etched pattern of concentric circles and a small rim fragment with an intricate floral design (Figure 4.19 a-b). A glass stopper with a broken finial setting was also found (Figure 4.19 e). Figure 4.19 f is a rim fragment from a glass bowl.

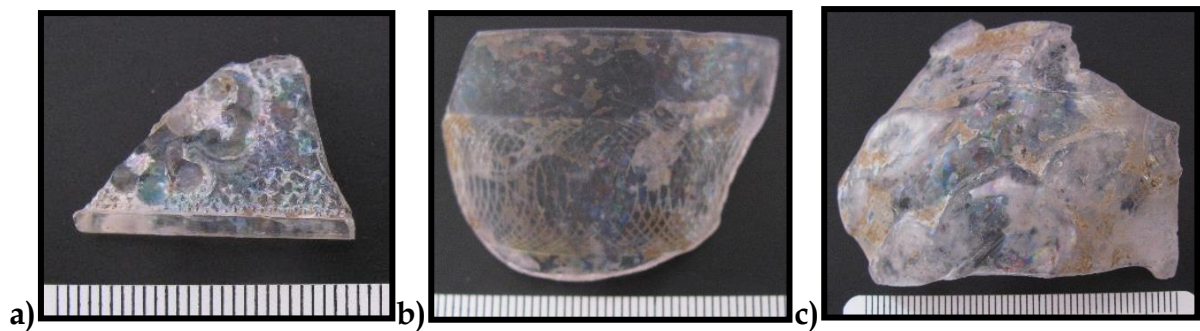




Figure 4.19: Tableware Excavated at *Elisutho*.
a)-d) Tableware; e) Glass Stopper, f) Rim fragment from a Glass Bowl.

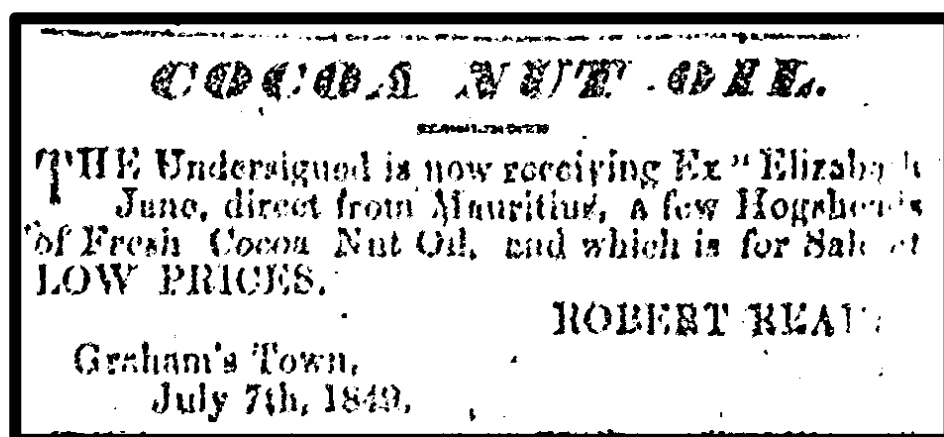


Figure 4.20: Advertisement for Coconut Oil (*The Graham's Town Journal* 7 July 1849).

Two coconut oil or sweet oil bottles were found in the first midden (Lastovica & Lastovica 1989: 6, 66). The one fragment is a complete finish and the second fragment is a full bottle without a finish (Figure 4.21 a-b). The two pieces do not cross-mend and were counted as two separate vessels. In Figure 4.20, an advertisement for coconut oil in *The Graham's Town Journal* appears to indicate that this product was important enough to warrant its own advertisement to let prospective consumers know that the stock had arrived, and it was fresh. Four large French mustard barrel jar fragments were also excavated. These fragments do not cross-mend and are treated as separate vessels (Figure 4.21 c-d).



Figure 4.21: Food Preparation Bottles and Jars Excavated at Elisutho.

a)-b) Coconut Oil Bottles; c)-d) Mustard Jars.

4.1.4 *Emakhobokeni* Hamlet

The assemblage at *Emakhobokeni* is linked to a single household. Jeppson (2005) felt that this hamlet would be representative of a group of people that were in regular contact with European Settlers. The diagnostic assemblage is small (n=3) (Table 4.8). A total of 23 undiagnostic fragments was also found in four different colours. Figure 4.22 a is a clear medical bottle fragment. The other finish fragment and base fragment are unidentified (Type B7 and B8). The bead (Figure 4.22 b) is an opaque Venetian wound bead, with a compound-complex structure that was produced from 1830 onwards.

Table 4.8: Glass Summary for the Excavation Completed at Emakhobokeni (*including embossed fragments).

FARMERFIELD- ENDULINI (ALL LOCATIONS)	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder /Body	Base	Finish	Lip/Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	%MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
CONTAINER/ BOTTLE													
Aqua/Clear	3	11.01	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	3	11.01
Black	2	15.85	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	2	15.85
Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Brown	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	11	11.70	3	11.12	0	0	1	1	1	1	100.0%	14	22.82
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	6	22.59	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	6	22.59
Light Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Light Green	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Olive	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Pink	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Red	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
OTHER													
CLOSURES	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
WINDOW GLASS	1	0.41	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	0.41
UNDIAGNOSTIC	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TOTAL	23	61.56	3	11.12	0	0	1	1	1	1	100.00%	26	72.68

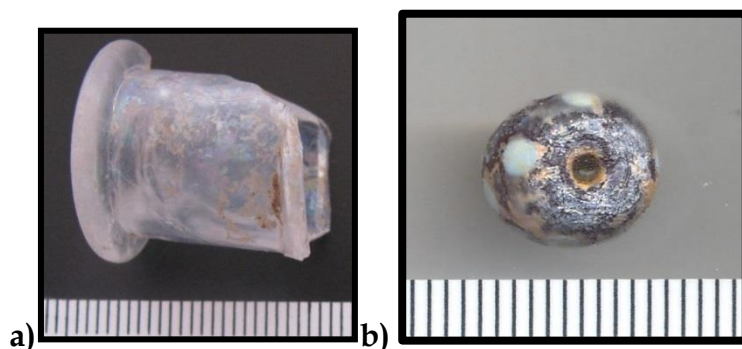


Figure 4.22: Diagnostic Glass Excavated at Emakhobokeni.

4.2 METAL ARTEFACT ANALYSIS

The main category of metal found at the mission station is construction items. The nails found at the mission station will be discussed in conjunction with the construction materials found at the site. Several additional categories are also discussed below including personal items, household items (including eating utensils) and clothing accessories.

4.2.1 Personal Items

Personal items were found at *Middel Plaas* and *Elisutho*. Three personal items were found at *Middel Plaas*. The first is an ornate pipe cover that was found during the surface collection at the rectangular house foundation, close to the church in 1987

(Figure 4.23 a). The intricate design reflects the personal choice of the owner. A similar example can be found in the National Museum in Bloemfontein (Coetzee 2012: personal communication). Figure 4.23 b is a small engraved metal fragment with intricate etching that appears to be part of a piece of jewellery. Figure 4.23 c is a piece of copper wire shaped into the form of a small bracelet. The copper wire was found in conjunction with a small modified square piece of blue glass that may have been attached to the wire at one stage (Figure 4.23 c).



Figure 4.23: Personal Items Excavated at Middel Plaas.

a) Pipe Cover (Drawing Deyzel 2014 and Photograph Coetzee 2012); b) Small Engraved Metal Fragment, c) Copper Bracelet.

Two of the five personal items found at *Elisutho* are jewellery items: an engraved, square piece of metal and a small filigree fragment (Figure 4.24 a-b). The other three items are a personalised tack with a small Maltese cross on the top of the tack, a rectangular paper fastener and a pair of scissors (Figure 4.24c-e). Five pieces of graphite were found in *Elisutho* and *Middel Plaas*.

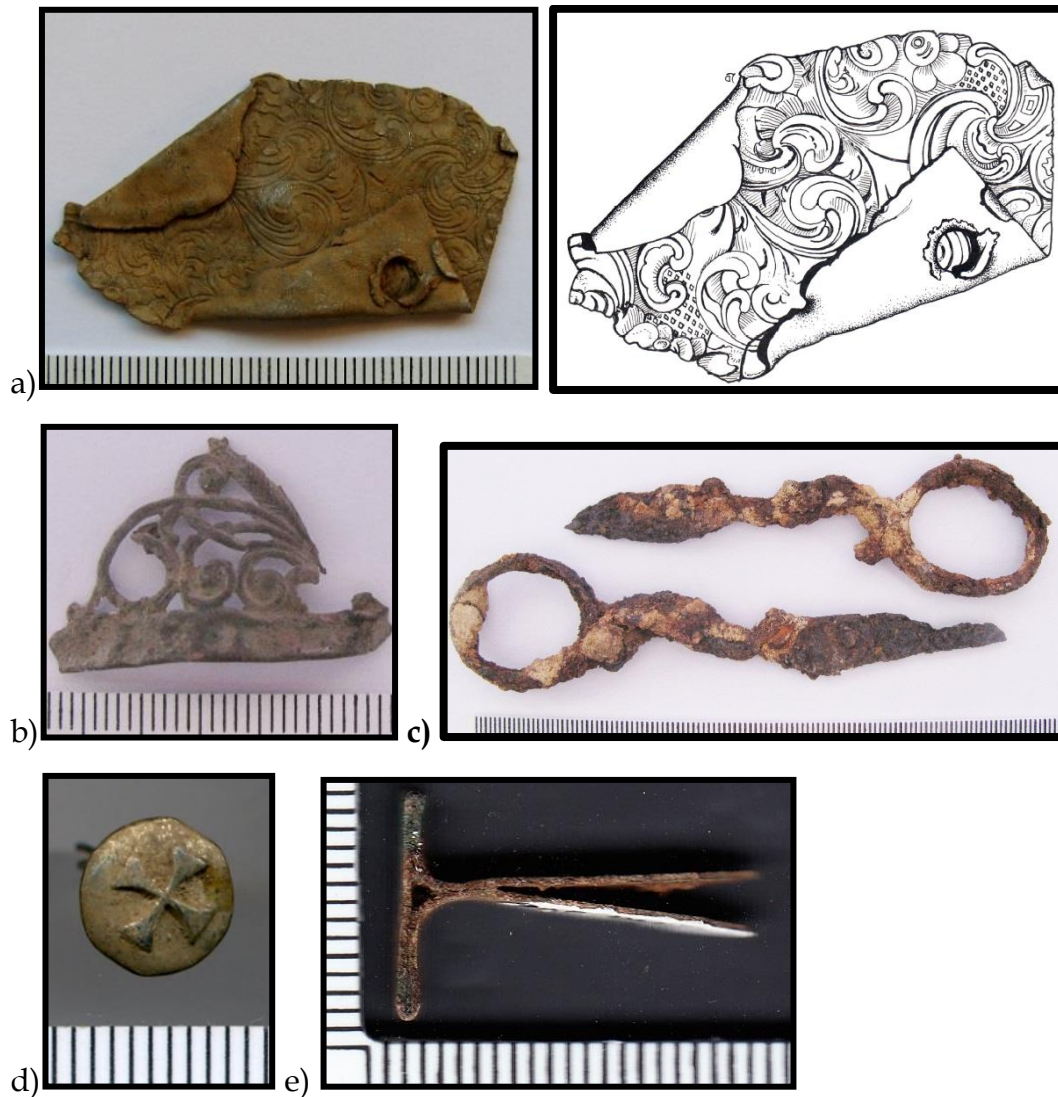


Figure 4.24: Personal Items Excavated at *Elisutho*.

a) Engraved Metal Piece; b) Small Filigree Fragment, c) Scissors d) Tack, e) Paper Fastener.

Clothing accessories were found in three of the four hamlets. The accessories are representative of the European clothing introduced into the mission. At *Middel Plaas* and *Elisutho* three different types of clothing fasteners were excavated (Figure 4.25 a, c-d). At *Endulini* a decorated buckle (Figure 4.25 b) was found. This buckle is from a belt or suspenders. The largest quantity of clothing accessories

found at the mission are metal buttons. While this artefact is kept together with the other clothing items this research also recognises that metal buttons were also trade items.

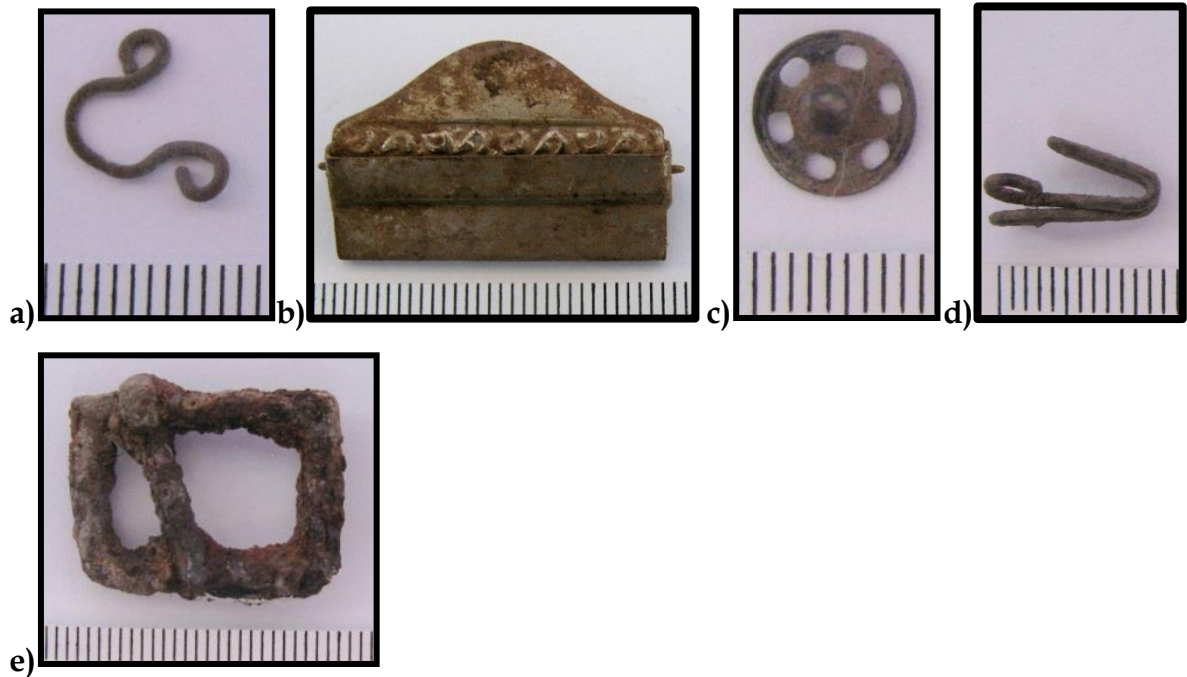


Figure 4.25: Buckles and Clothing Fasteners.

a) Clothing Fastener from *Middel Plaas*, b)-e) Buckles and Clothing Fasteners from *Elisutho*.

An 1897 British penny was excavated at *Emakhobokeni* (Figure 4.26 a). The penny is badly corroded. Significantly a small hole was drilled in the top of the penny. This may indicate that the coin was worn on a chain as an item of jewellery. A part of a musical instrument was also found in this hamlet (Figure 4.26 b). This part is normally utilised in harmonicas. It is however a utilitarian part that can be utilised in more than one type of instrument (Coetzee 2012: personal communication).

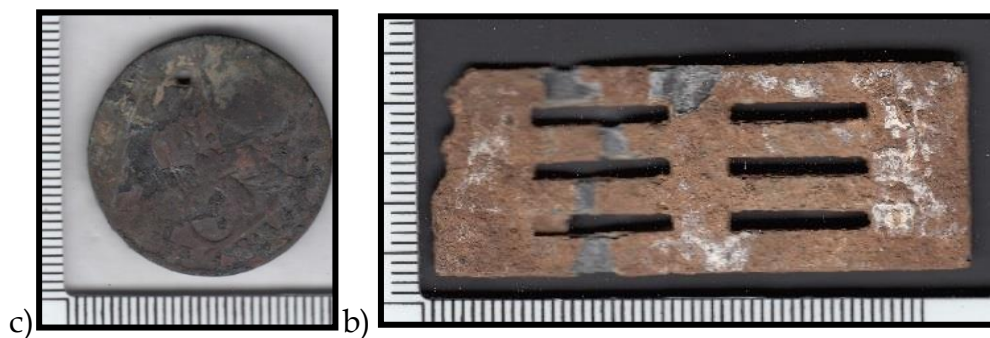


Figure 4.26: Personal Items Excavated at *Emakhobokeni*.

a) Coin Utilised for Jewellery; b) Harmonica Part.

Buttons were found at three of the four hamlets. The only midden where no buttons were found was *Middel Plaas*. In Table 4.9 and Table 4.10 the buttons are divided into four-holed sew-through buttons (Figure 4.27) and buttons with shanks (Figures 4.29).

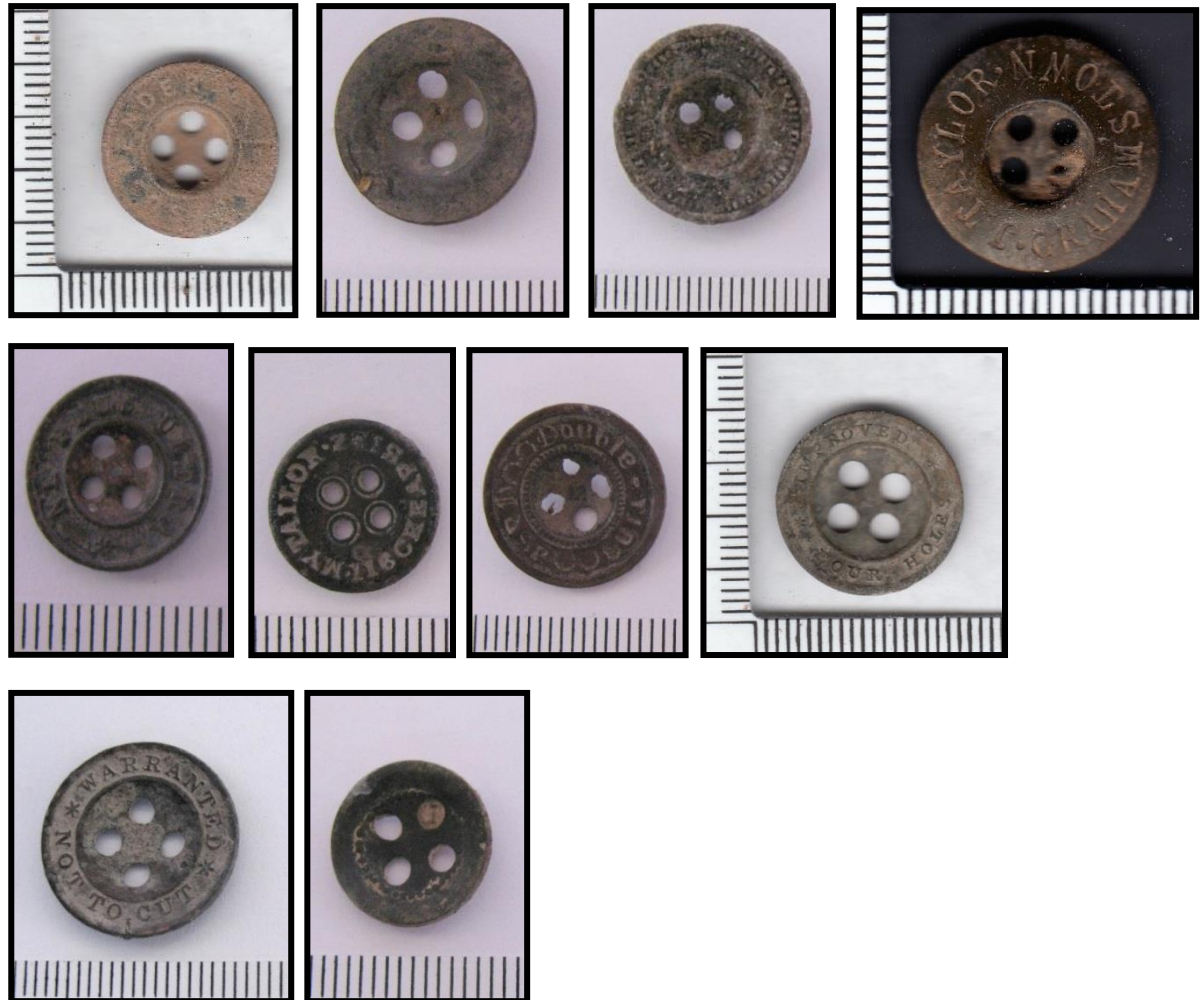
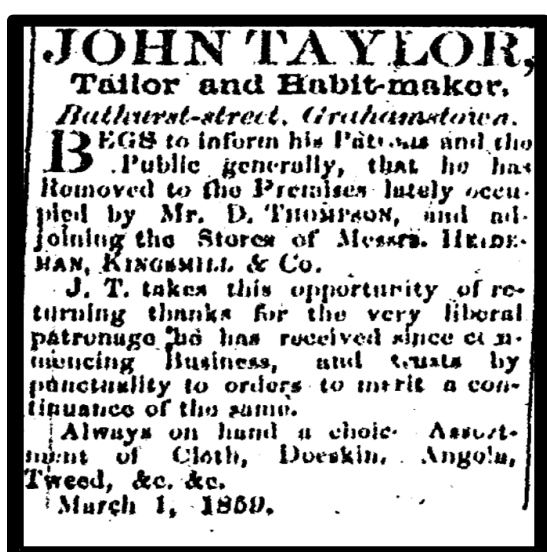


Figure 4.27: Metal Four-Holed Sew Through Buttons Excavated at Farmerfield.
Top Left: Endulini, Top-Second through Fourth: Elisutho. Second Row: Elisutho. Second Row: Last button: Emakhobokeni. Third Row: Emakhobokeni.

Table 4.9: Metal Four- Holed, Sew-Through Buttons for All Four Hamlets.

Button Location	Button Description	Wording or Identifying Features	Identification
Endulini	4 holes, sew-through, dish type	SUSPENDER	Trouser button
Elisutho -Midden 1	4 holes, sew-through	Utilitarian, no wording	Trouser button/ under garments
Elisutho -Midden 1	4 holes, sew-through, dish type	Dotted Engraving Around the Circumference of the Button	Trouser button
Elisutho -Midden 2	4 holes, sew-through, dish type	J Taylor-Grahamstown	Trouser button
Elisutho -Midden 2	4 holes, sew-through	NE Plus Ultra	Trouser button
Elisutho -Midden 2	4 holes, sew-through	My Tailor-Cheaps	Unidentified
Elisutho -Midden 2	4 holes, sew-through	Double Tins	Trouser button
Emakhobokeni	4 holes, sew-through	Approved Four Hole	Trouser button
Emakhobokeni	4 holes, sew-through	Warranted Not to Cut	Trouser button
Emakhobokeni	4 holes, sew-through	Utilitarian Button-Thin Line Around Circumference- Trouser button	Trouser button/ under garments

The button in the first row above, found at *Elisutho*, engraved with the words J. Taylor, Grahamstown, is the only button that provides a direct link to the town. Significantly, a search of *The Graham's Town Journal*, revealed that there was a tailor and habit-maker working in the town during the period under study, 1820 to 1860. In Figure 4.28, J. Taylor advertises that he has moved to premises in



Bathurst Street. It appears this business was well established in the town. The tailor's new premises were an amalgamation of two stores previously owned by Mr. D. Thompson and Messrs. Heideman, Kingsmill and Co. This also shows that at least some of items at the *Elisutho* hamlet were purchased in Grahamstown.

Figure 4.28: Advertisement for J. Taylor (*The Graham's Town Journal* 1 March 1859).



Figure 4.29: Metal Buttons with Shanks Excavated at Farmerfield.
Top Row: *Elisutho*, Second Row: *Emakhobokeni*.

Table 4.10: Metal Buttons with Shanks for All Four Hamlets.

<u>Button Location</u>	<u>Button Description</u>	<u>Wording or Identifying Features</u>	<u>Identification</u>
<i>Elisutho</i> -Midden 1	Trouser Button with Shank	Patent by Letters	Trouser button
<i>Elisutho</i> -Midden 2	Moulded Button with Shank	No Engraving	Decorative (reminiscent of the glass buttons with floral designs)
<i>Elisutho</i> -Midden 2	Rounded Button with Shank	No Engraving	Shirt button
<i>Emakhobokeni</i>	Button with Shank	Best Quality London	Jacket button
<i>Emakhobokeni</i>	Button with Shank	Cross-hatched Pattern	Jacket button
<i>Emakhobokeni</i>	Button with Shank	No Engraving	Jacket button

All the buttons excavated from the hamlets were between 14 mm and 18 mm wide (between 14-27 lines). This button width was utilised for underclothing, coats, jackets, trousers and pyjamas (Lindbergh 1999: 51). However, because all the buttons are metal, allows the possible identification to be further restricted to jackets, underclothes, trousers and shirts. The utilitarian buttons can only be tentatively dated based on the manufacturing methods (Olsen 1963: 552).

4.2.2 Household Items

Six household fragments were excavated at *Elisutho*: the handle and wick collar of a lamp, a cabinet or door handle, two picture hooks and a decorative keyhole cover (Figure 4.30 a-f). The size of this assemblage is commensurate with the glass excavated at this hamlet. The metal re-enforces the possibility that this excavation was related to a single household.



Figure 4.30: Household Items Found at *Elisutho*.

a) Lamp Wick Collar, b) Lamp Handle, c) Handle d and f) Picture Hook, d) Decorative Keyhole Cover.

Cutlery was found at two of the four hamlets: *Elisutho* and *Emakhobokeni*. At *Elisutho* a knife and two cutlery handles were excavated. At *Emakhobokeni* the stem, shoulders and drop of a teaspoon were excavated (Figure 4.31).

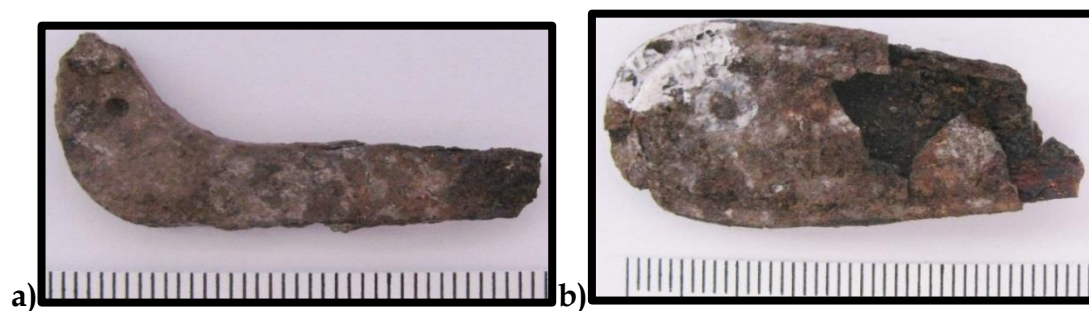




Figure 4.31: Cutlery Excavated at Farmerfield.
a)-c) Eating Utensils from *Elisutho*, d) Teaspoon from *Emakhobokeni*.

4.2.3 Ordnance

As seen in the site history of Farmerfield in Section 1.1.3. above, the tenants at Farmerfield were affected by the violence that erupted on the frontier. The presence of gun flint at three of the four hamlets appears to indicate that the tenants were prepared to protect themselves. Also, the presence of a single type of ordnance may indicate that the tenants did not have access to more modern weapons (Figure 4.32 a-d).

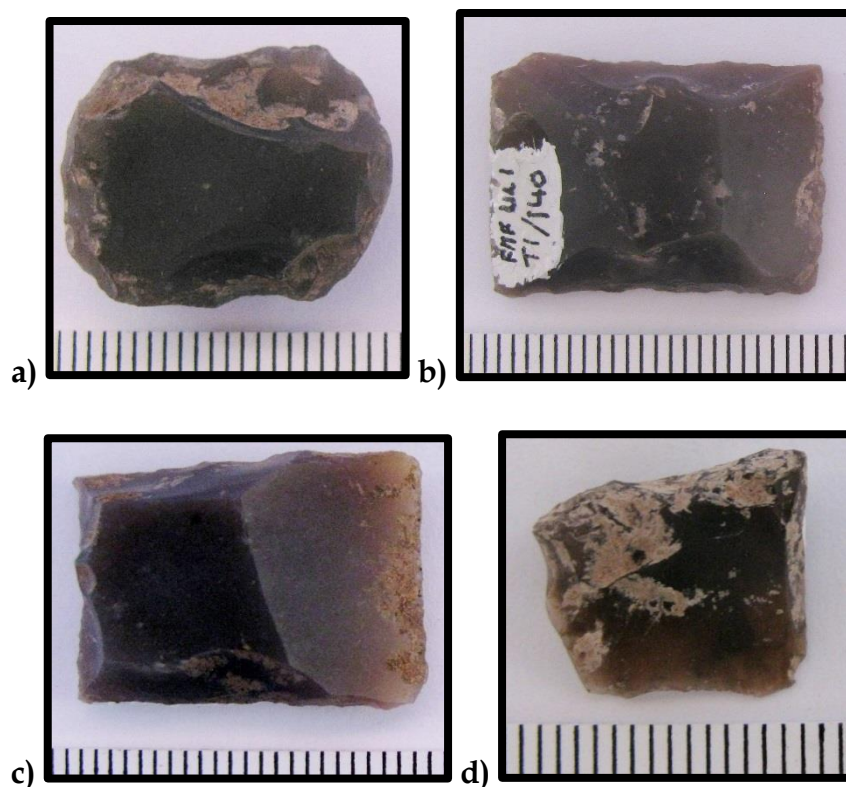


Figure 4.32: Gun Flint Excavated at Farmerfield.
a) A D-Shaped gunspall (kraal at Endulini), b-c) Square gunspall (*Elisutho* and *Emakhobokeni*), d) Chip (*Emakhobokeni*) (Ballin 2012).

4.2.4 Construction Items

Roofing washers were found at two of the four hamlets (Figure 4.33).

The fact that roofing washers and roof screws were found highlights the new building designs at the mission. These roofs were used on the rectangular buildings that became a fixture of the mission landscape. Wire was found at all four hamlets (*Middel Plaas* (n=8); *Endulini* (n=5); *Elisutho* (n=2) and *Emakhobokeni* (n=1). Figure 4.33 c is a metal connector.

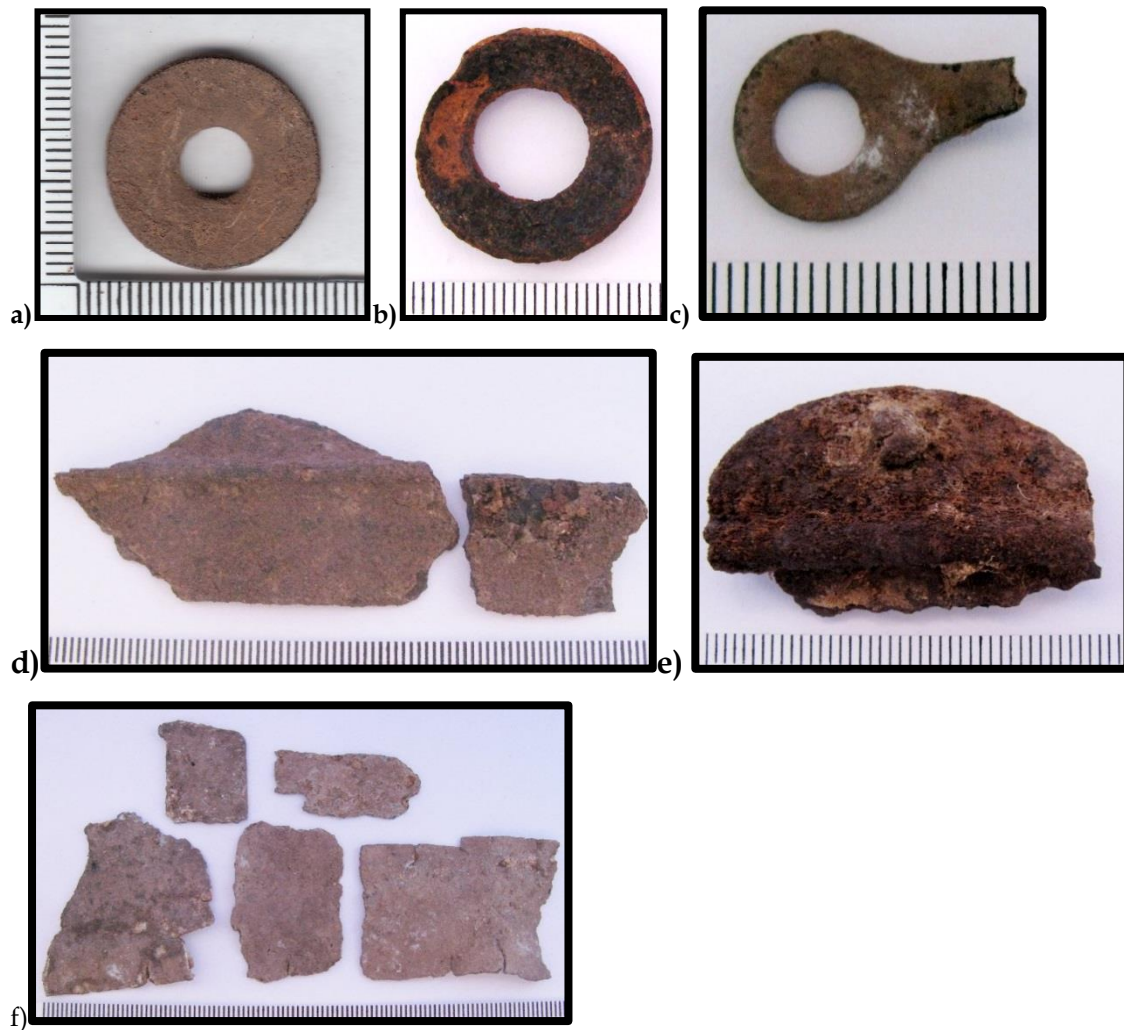


Figure 4.33: Construction Items Excavated at Farmerfield.

a) Roofing Washer at *Middel Plaas*, b) Roofing Washer at *Endulini*; c) Electrical Connector at *Endulini*, d)-f) Solder Seams, Hinge and Zinc Fragments.

4.2.4.1 Nails

At Farmerfield a small nail assemblage was excavated. Out of a total of 115 nails only 49 nails are diagnostic (42.6%) (Figure 4.34). *Middel Plaas* has the highest quantity of undiagnostic nails (n=42) while Endulini has a single undiagnostic nail (Table 4.11 & Figure 4.35). Elisutho has the largest quantity of diagnostic nails (n=17). A wagon bolt was found in this hamlet. The wagon bolt highlights the new role of transport riders that some of the mission's tenants embraced (Figure 4.34).

Table 4.11: Nail Summary for Farmerfield.

Nails	Nail Type	Qty	Weight (g)
<i>Emakhobokeni</i>	T-Shaped Nail	5	24.91
<i>Emakhobokeni</i>	Rosehead Nail	1	5.22
<i>Emakhobokeni</i>	Round, Wide Nail	1	12.59
<i>Emakhobokeni</i>	Round Head	2	9.63
<i>Emakhobokeni</i>	Undiagnostic	<u>6</u>	38.75
<u>Emakhobokeni Total</u>		<u>15</u>	<u>91.10</u>
<i>Middel Plaas</i>	Rosehead	1	5.08
<i>Middel Plaas</i>	Wire Nail	1	0.39
<i>Middel Plaas</i>	Screws	2	8.63
<i>Middel Plaas</i>	Undiagnostic	42	62.21
<u>Middel Plaas Total</u>		<u>46</u>	<u>76.31</u>
Midden 1- <i>Elisutho</i>	Screws	2	19.53
Midden 1- <i>Elisutho</i>	Bolt	1	41.11
Midden 1- <i>Elisutho</i>	Round Headed	6	16.57
Midden 1- <i>Elisutho</i>	Round Headed (Modern)	3	6.57
Midden 1- <i>Elisutho</i>	T-shaped Nail	4	14.97
Midden 1- <i>Elisutho</i>	Roseheads	4	35.10
Midden 1- <i>Elisutho</i>	Round Head	9	25.84
Midden 1- <i>Elisutho</i>	Modern	1	11.35
Midden 1- <i>Elisutho</i>	Screw	1	1.90
Midden 2- <i>Elisutho</i>	Wagon Bolt	1	51.18
<i>Elisutho</i>	Undiagnostic	17	67.09
<u>Elisutho Total</u>		<u>32</u>	<u>291.21</u>
<i>Endulini</i>	L-Shaped Nail	1	5.20
<i>Endulini</i>	Rounded Nail	1	5.07
<i>Endulini</i>	Square Nail	1	5.00
<i>Endulini</i>	Rectangular Nail	1	5.10
<i>Endulini</i>	Undiagnostic	1	6.77
<u>Endulini Total</u>		<u>5</u>	<u>27.14</u>
<u>Total Nails at Farmerfield</u>		<u>115</u>	<u>486.66</u>



Figure 4.34: Nails, Screw and Bolts Excavated in Farmerfield.
a) Wire Nails, b) Wagon Bolt, c) Screw.

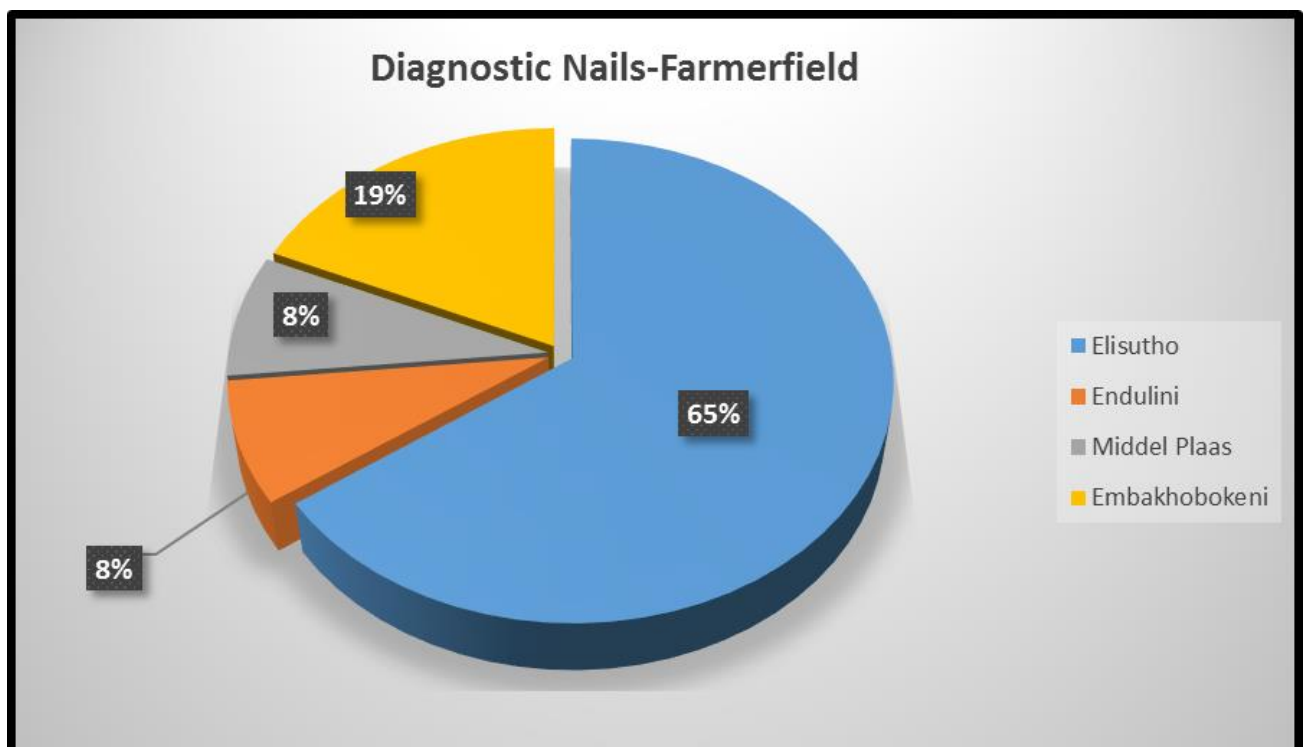


Figure 4.35: Diagnostic Nails-Farmerfield (All the Hamlets).

4.3 FARMERFIELD CONCLUSION

The divisions between the hamlets, and the relative secluded nature of each hamlet, were reflected in the assemblages excavated from the various areas. The glass and metal are indicative of the consumer purchases made by the various hamlets. In contrast the ceramics highlighted the social variances between the hamlets and the missionaries. These variances include economic class variation, religion, education and ethnicity (Jeppson 2005: 264, 268).

At *Middel Plaas*, *Endulini* and *Elisutho* the two largest glass categories are alcoholic bottle glass and tableware. The alcoholic bottle glass found at *Endulini* differs from that recovered at *Middel Plaas*. While beer and brandy diagnostic fragments were found at both hamlets, wine and champagne glass was only found at *Middel Plaas*, and whiskey bottle fragments were only found at *Endulini*.

The presence of alcoholic beverages at the mission station is interesting. The fact that this type of beverage was only found at two of the hamlets may be because of the Wesleyan church's ideas regarding temperance. This is further emphasized by the fact that only a single alcoholic beverage bottle fragment was found at *Elisutho*. The small variety of bottles (four categories were found at *Middel Plaas* and *Endulini*) also appears to indicate a circumspect use of alcohol. It also needs to be borne in mind that alcoholic beverages often substituted for medical glass

Even though *Elisutho* is close to *Middel Plaas*, this hamlet does not have a similar bottle glass assemblage to *Middel Plaas*. In contrast to this *Endulini* and *Middel Plaas* have two bottle categories in common and a third category that is unique to *Endulini*. Tableware is also the second largest category of glass at each of these three sites.

The tableware and dessert vessels found at *Middel Plaas* are indicative of the shared meals these vessels personify. It appears that at least while eating their meals the missionary and his family could display their identity and personal preferences. The etched patterns on the vessels are intricate, a possible indication that these were personal items brought with their owner to the Cape Colony. The

tableware at Endulini has one fragment in common with *Middel Plaas*; a candlestick holder. The rest of the fragments found here are small and delicate but not as intricate as those found at *Middel Plaas*. The tableware found at *Elisutho* is very different from the other two middens. This hamlet has drinking vessels as well as delicate tableware.

The variance between tableware and non-alcoholic beverages at *Endulini* is small. Also, no non-alcoholic beverage diagnostic fragments were found at *Elisutho*. The non-alcoholic beverage assemblage at *Middel Plaas* is smaller than the assemblage at *Endulini*. This is the second category of glass where there are significant differences between *Endulini* and *Middel Plaas*. *Endulini* has a larger variety of non-alcoholic beverage fragments indicative of all the glass of this type sold in the town.

All the medicinal glass was found at *Middel Plaas*. This appears to indicate a familiarity with, or trust of, conventional medicine by the people resident in this hamlet. This could also indicate that the missionary kept a supply of medicine for his family and for the other hamlets. The single medicinal fragment found at *Elisutho*, a homeopathic vial, was different to the medicinal glass found at *Middel Plaas*. This may indicate the use of alternative medicines at the site.

A total of 243 window glass fragments was found at Farmerfield (Table 4.12). This is the only flat glass category at the mission station. As seen in Chapter 2, the size of the glass panes is visible in the advertisements for the town. The fact that 94% of the window glass is concentrated at *Middel Plaas* does not allow this analysis to draw any significant conclusions from this form of glass. The window glass is however indicative of the new building styles at the mission. At *Middel Plaas* the glass can possibly come from the chapel. Apart from the windows in the chapel it is not possible to determine the size of the window panes in the rest of the buildings on the mission station.

Table 4.12: Window Glass Excavated at Farmerfield by Hamlet.

Farmerfield	Window Glass			
	Total Qty	Total Weight (g)	Width Under 1mm	Width Over 1mm
Middel Plaas	226	235.83	189	37
Endulini	11	7.21	6	5
Elisutho	5	6,31	5	0
Emakhobokeni	1	0.41	0	1
Total	243	249.76	200	43

The metal found at the four hamlets highlights how the mission station developed. The homes and structures were built, and the parcels of land were demarcated. The household and personal items found at the hamlet highlight what happened inside the walls of these homes. The intricate fixtures and candle holders are attempts to personalise the space. A small amount of undiagnostic metal was also found in each of the hamlets (Table 4.13).

Table 4.13: Undiagnostic Metal Found at Farmerfield.

Site	Undiagnostic Metal
	Weight (g)
<i>Elisutho</i>	179.85
<i>Endulini</i>	0.00
<i>Emakhobokeni</i>	191.54
<i>Middel Plaas</i>	44.69
Total	416.08

The missionary, mission manager and members of the Watson Institute resided on this mission. These consumers were not restricted from purchasing any item that they could afford to purchase. The assemblage also highlights items that the missionary would have brought with him to Africa. The missionary arrived with his whole family to take up a residence at the mission for an extended period. As he was unsure what to expect, and how restricted his lifestyle would be, the missionary would have brought a substantial portion of his personal possessions with him. These items, like the pipe cover, were found at the mission.

New products were brought to the mission by the tenants that were employed as transport riders e.g. *Elisutho* has the largest nail assemblage. It can, however, also indicate that the tenants' resident in this hamlet had more disposable income than the other hamlets due to their direct involvement in the market economy of the town. Buttons, wire and beads were among the items traded by the missionaries at all their mission stations. All three of these items are part of the assemblage at the mission.

The glass and metal found at the mission station reflect the actions of a well-adjusted group of people. The missionary was able to successfully run Farmerfield with the aid of the yearly stipend that the tenants paid to the missionary for the land use. Also, the missionaries benefited from the products grown on the mission and the labours the tenants undertook for the farmers close to the mission. In addition to this the tenants benefited from a disposable income that enabled them to purchase the imported products in the town. The mission station is an amalgamation of trade and Christianity.

5 CHAPTER 5: FORT DOUBLE DRIFT GLASS AND METAL ARTEFACT ANALYSIS

The situation, like most of the frontier Posts, was one that would have afforded a man of contemplative mind ample opportunity for undisturbed reflection, being twelve miles from the nearest dwelling, and not a living soul approaching the place the live-long day, excepting twice a week, when the post-riders met there...

King 1855: 275.

Described as the “sharp end of colonialism” (Webb 1998: 26, 85), fortifications visually exemplified the military control the British strove to exercise over the frontier. The fortifications erected in the Cape Colony and the Eastern Cape were built to protect the tenuous position of the British population at the Cape and became pivotal to the British need for security and stability on the borders of the Colony. While the approaches to Grahamstown were protected by Fort Selwyn many of the remaining fortifications, like Fort Double Drift, were situated along the rivers that formed the border of the province.

By locating the fort close to the Great Fish River, Fort Double Drift fulfilled a strategic role of protecting important routes into the interior and to Grahamstown. The short occupation period at Fort Double Drift, between 1836 and 1853, provides this research with a small restricted time frame within which to study the daily activities of the soldiers stationed at the fort. The study will focus on both the regimented environment enforced by the military inside the fort and the impact of the impromptu interactions with the communities that developed outside the fort’s walls.

In contrast to the formidable physical structures, the troops stationed at these forts were often only defined by their unit numbers. The soldiers arrived in the towns in long orderly columns en route to fortifications located some distance from the nearest towns. The populations of the towns were sceptical of the military preparedness of these units and as such their presence was initially unwanted and viewed as emblematic of the British occupation. It was only later that the military was viewed by the towns as a source of income.

Scott's (1973) research focused on the soldiers. He believed that any research completed on the military and military fortifications needed to include an analysis of the military units. His work in the Eastern Cape provides an extensive record of the units that saw service in the Cape Colony during the same period under study in this research. Scott felt that if you understood the dynamics of the various units then you would be able to understand the mindset of the soldiers that formed part of these troops. Prickett's (2003) excavations completed at the Queens Redoubt in South Auckland focused on collecting information on the defences, internal structures and material culture of the fortification. His work also looked at what information archaeology could provide on how fortifications were affected by wars.

The fact that Fort Double Drift was occupied from 1836 onwards places the fort's occupation in the period after trade was legalized in the interior. While trade had proven lucrative prior to 1830 the volume of trade increased exponentially after trade into the interior was legalized. As a direct result of this the volume of traffic through the fort increased. The fort also facilitated passage to the subsequent fairs organized further in the frontier. This flow of both people and goods effectively brought the traders and the soldiers into contact with one another.

The glass and metal artefact assemblages excavated at the fort are utilised to locate Fort Double Drift within the cultural landscape of the Eastern Cape. The glass and metal from all the locations differentiate between the rigid supply structure of the military, and the social hierarchy it created, and the personal transactions of the soldiers.

The two artefact classes were supplied to the fort as part of a closely controlled system of tenders and provisions. While the glass and metal used by the soldiers at the fort was requisitioned in Grahamstown the material visible at the fort was not representative of the full range of merchandise available in the town. .

Glass formed part of the rations received by the soldiers. Glass was visible in the alcoholic rations distributed daily, the medicine used at the fort and the social

distinctions visible between the officers and the soldiers. The metal highlights the daily activities required to ensure the upkeep of the fort and the units stationed at the fort. The metal also includes the personal items visible in the soldier's accommodation at the fort.

Jeppson (2005) completed excavations inside and outside Fort Double Drift. Inside the fort the parade ground surface and two of the fort's structures were investigated to discover the possible location of the fort's latrines. The two fort structures were both located along the inside of the north wall. On the north-west side the remains of a stable wall were found, and the officers' quarters were excavated along the north-east side of the same wall (Jeppson 2005).

Outside the fort the focus shifted to finding the middens associated with the occupation period of the fort. Two middens were found during the surface survey outside the fort. The largest of these was located south east of the fort's entrance, close to the path (Hall personal communication: 2014), while the smaller midden was found on the west side of the fort. Additional units were also excavated outside the fort close to the tower and a circular depression located south of the tower (Jeppson 2005).

During the analysis the artefacts excavated inside of the fort were kept separate from the excavations outside the fort. This was done to highlight the difference between the controlled environment inside the fort and the more interactive environment outside the fort. Outside the fort the two middens were analysed separately. The three excavations around the tower and the circular depression south of the tower are combined due to their location and the size of the excavation.

5.1 GLASS ANALYSIS AT FORT DOUBLE DRIFT

The interpretation of the reused bottle can well lead one astray. Who would anticipate finding liniment in a beer bottle? Instead of a drunken soldier, one could have a man or beast with sore muscles... Jones (1975: 3).

Webb (1998: 83) estimated that each soldier's liquor ration was approximately 190 ml or a third of an imperial pint issued daily. Scott (1973: 127) places this ration at half a pint per man daily and likely to be "brandy, rum or arrack, with the equivalent of one gallon of beer for half a pint of spirit, or a pint of wine."

Rationing was implemented as a way of limiting the amount of alcohol consumed by enlisted men (Jones & Smith 1985: 6-7; 86). The restrictions however forced troops to look for alternate ways to supplement their rations.

While there are no documentary records for these impromptu transactions, Memorial number CO 3982/205 (KAB-Undated) transcribed below shows one example of a wine merchant petitioning the Cape Governor for the right to supply produce to one of the Eastern Cape fortifications, Fort Willshire:

The Humble Memorial of William Edward Smith, Wine Merchant

To His Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban KCB, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope

Humbly Herewith

That Your Memorialist is anxious to take out a License for Selling Wine and Spirits at Fort Willshire...

This research also looks at whether there are examples of personal glass in the assemblage. Jones and Smith (1985: 11,115) believe military personnel only accumulated more delicate and expensive glass if they were stationed at a specific post for lengthy periods of time. Aside from this Webb's (1998: 45) description of the supplies carried by infantry soldiers appears to detract from the possibility that these fragile items could have survived the journey:

...while the infantry soldier, in European clothing, loaded with three days' rations, sixty rounds of ball cartridge, water canteen, bayonet, and heavy musket, labours after him with a pluck and perseverance which none but British soldiers possess, and which, somehow or other, in spite of every obstacle in all climes, ever wins its way in the end.

Also, once the glass was inside the confines of the fort it took on additional functions. Glass served an impromptu role as a piece of furniture. King (1855: 293) describes the “illuminated canvas” of the camps and how glass bottles played a role:

In the close and sultry evenings, when sauntering up and down the long street of illuminated canvas, it was amusing to see the attitudes and employments of the different inmates of the wide-open tents; here a solitary individual, in shirt sleeves, (his candle stuck in an empty bottle) writing on the top of a box...

Discarded glass also served a function in the protection of the fort. Military strategy allowed for the use of broken glass as a defence mechanism (Coetzee 1994: 24). This glass was scattered over the ground close to the fort to protect the fort’s approaches. The soldiers may have utilised glass to supplement the local supplies and as a cheap method of securing the fort’s boundary.

Coetzee (1994: 260) noted that due to rocky terrain the temporary fort could not be enlarged at its current location. Also, as already noted in Chapter 1, when Royal Engineer Williams visited the fort, the ditch dug around the perimeter of the fort was deemed too shallow and could only be widened through blasting.

Furthermore, the fort’s defences were weakened by the fact that vegetation was cleared around the fort to keep the line of sight to the river clear. The area also became vulnerable when the land along the banks of the river was cleared to cultivate crops.

A total of 166 diagnostic glass fragments (9.4%) was excavated at the fort. The undiagnostic glass fragments (1759 sherds) were found in seven different colours (Figure 5.1 & Table 5.1). The glass is analysed in four separate sections: the glass found inside and outside the fort, beads and window glass. The largest category of glass found at Fort Double Drift was bottle glass.

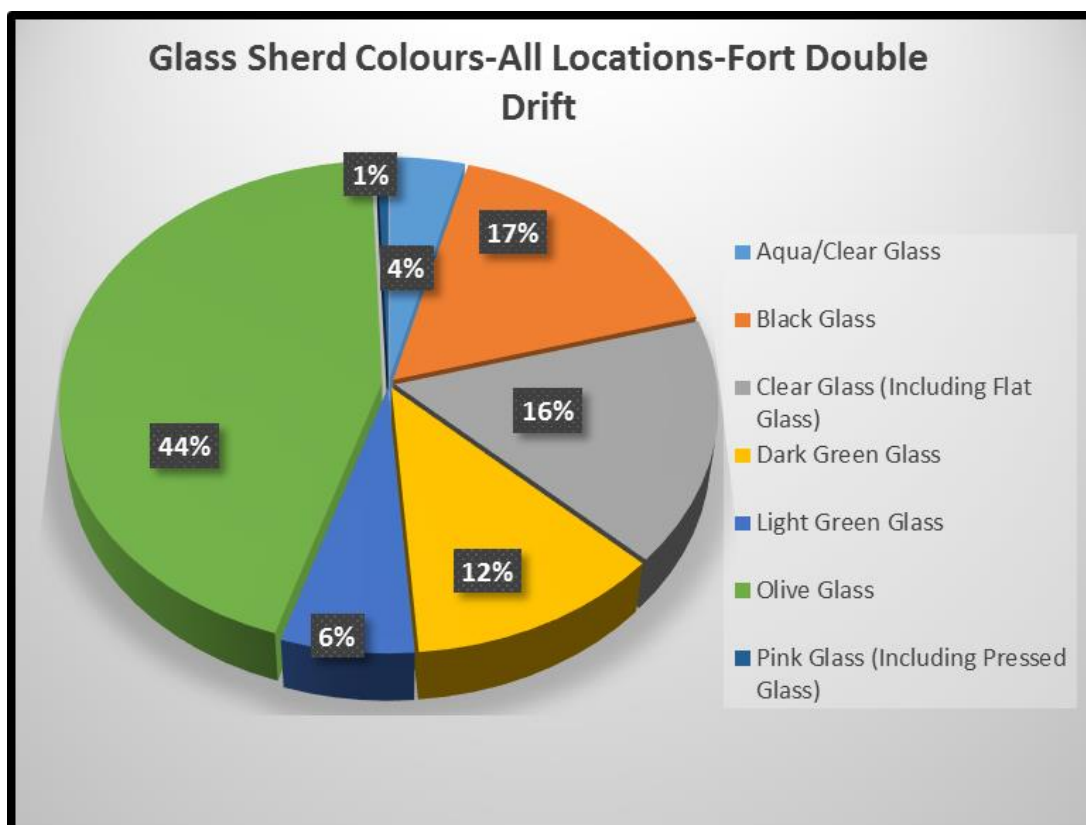


Figure 5.1: Glass Colour Summary-Fort Double Drift.

Table 5.1: Glass Summary for Fort Double Drift-All Locations.

Fort Double Drift-Combined Site Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder/ Body	Base	Finish	Lip /Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	%MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
CONTAINER/ BOTTLE													
Aqua/ Clear	72	188.27	16	479.37	1	5	2	5	3	6	10.4%	88	667.64
Black	292	2303.04	51	2635.91	3	11	5	9	23	20	35.1%	343	4938.95
Blue	0	0.00	1	119.96	0	1	0	0	0	1	1.8%	1	119.96
Brown	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	90	309.93	9	86.14	0	4	2	1	2	5	8.8%	99	396.07
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	208	1065.64	35	549.39	9	2	6	14	5	12	21.1%	243	1615.03
Light Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00
Light Green	108	327.76	5	25.79	0	0	1	3	0	2	3.5%	113	353.55
Olive	782	2138.67	34	783.76	11	3	5	7	9	9	15.8%	816	2922.43
Pink	11	29.39	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	11	29.39
Red	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00
CLOSURES	0	0.00	1	12.34						0	0.00%	1	12.34
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	14	81.84						2	3.5%	14	81.84
WINDOW GLASS	196	216.14	0	0.00						0	0.00%	196	216.14
UNDIAGNOSTIC	0	0.00	0	0.00						0	0.00%	0	0.00
TOTAL	1759	6578.84	166	4774.50	24	26	21	39	42	57	100.00%	1925	11353.34

5.1.1 Inside the Fort

In Captain W.R. King's book *Campaigning in Kaffirland or Scenes and Adventures in the Kaffir War of 1851-52* the captain describes the activity in the camp:

Commissariat and baggage wagons kept pouring into camp all day long; arms were cleaned and examined; saddle-bags and pack-saddles, patrol tents and cooking utensils overhauled and fitted; and all was bustle and preparation (King 1855: 42-43).

This and other references show that the wagons were a welcome sight in camp every day, bringing supplies and breaking the monotony of the daily routine. The supplies, obtained from civilian sources, were loaded by the commissariat. Once the supplies were on the march the protection of the supplies fell solely in the hands of the military (Scott 1973: 51; Webb 1998: 81). These formidable convoys attracted attention as they moved across the terrain. It is feasible to conclude that their presence would have attracted other groups residing near the fort to approach the fort in search of items for trade.

The primary archaeological context inside the fort is disturbed. After the fort was abandoned it was used for a kraal, a wild animal enclosure and as a base for the Cape Mounted Police. The most marked changes were however undertaken by the Eastern Cape Parks Board. Apart from removing some of the fort's walls to facilitate the safe movement of wild animals through the structure (Jeppson 2005: 146), the interior of the fort was made more accessible for tourists. The parade ground was cleared of all debris and signs and information boards were erected to identify the various fort structures.

Inside the fortifications the military could exercise a measure of control over the buildings and troops that were stationed there. However, while the living and working spaces were regimented, the parade ground was a high traffic area. As the main gathering point, close to the fort's entrance, this area was an assembly point for troops and the first place where wagons stopped after arriving at the fort. The parade ground was also the entry point for patrols, visitors and horses.

King (1855: 291) describes the scene in the camps as people visited the forts on a regular basis:

The camp was besieged all day long by visitors; rough Boers from the country with strings of colts for sale; townspeople on foot; fat old Dutch-women, and buxom vrouws (sic) riding astride; and respectably dressed; well-mounted Dutchmen, with very pretty girls in pink or sky-blue riding habits, who rode up and down the lines, stared unceremoniously into our tents...

A decision was taken to keep the excavations completed at the two structures separate from the excavations completed in the parade grounds and close to the steps of the tower. The reason for this is that two different floor plans for the fort (1842 and 1843) identify the structure on the NW side of the north wall as either the stables or the NCO quarters and it was hoped that the analysis of the excavated material could clarify the structure's function. The possibility also existed that these two structures could provide information on the social hierarchy at the fort as the structure on the NE side was identified as the officers' quarters from the floor plan.

The two excavations along the north wall of the fort yielded a small diagnostic glass assemblage (n=9). Eight of the nine diagnostic fragments were excavated on the NW side of the north wall (Table 5.2). The diagnostic fragments include four bases, two finishes and two body/neck or shoulder fragments. Most of the diagnostic fragments are aqua/clear in colour. In addition to this 46% of undiagnostic sherds are the same colour (n=12).

On the NE side of the wall (Table 5.3) the excavation at the officer's quarters yielded a single dark green diagnostic fragment. While large enough to identify as part of a bottle finish, the fragment was too small to identify to a bottle type. The diagnostic fragment is dark green. This is the predominant glass colour in this excavation, totalling 81.25% of the glass total (n=13).

The two excavations completed in the parade ground and close to the tower steps were combined in this analysis due to the small surface area of the two

excavations (Table 5.4). A single base fragment was excavated by the tower steps: a circular base with a distinctive pontil mark (Type C1). The base is unidentified.

Table 5.2: Glass Summary for Excavation Completed on NW Side of North Wall.

Fort Double Drift- West Side of North Wall	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder/ Body	Base	Finish	Lip/Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	%MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
CONTAINER/ BOTTLE													
Aqua/Clear	12	37.37	7	169.85	2	2	1	0	2	3	75.0%	19	205.53
Black	4	13.87	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	4	13.87
Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Brown	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	2	13.83	1	1.68	0	0	1	0	0	1	25.0%	3	15.51
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	1	2.08	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	2.08
Light Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Light Green	3	6.63	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	3	6.63
Olive	3	22.97	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	3	22.97
Pink	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Red	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
OTHER													
CLOSURES	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
WINDOW GLASS	1	1.05	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	1.05
UNDIAGNOSTIC	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TOTAL	26	97.80	8	169.84	2	2	2	0	2	4	100.00%	34	267.64

Table 5.3: Glass Summary for Excavation Completed on NE Side of North Wall.

Fort Double Drift- East Side of North Wall	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder/ Body	Base	Finish	Lip/Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	%MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
CONTAINER/ BOTTLE													
Aqua/Clear	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0
Black	1	4.89	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	4.89
Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Brown	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	1	1.24	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	1.24
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Light Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Light Green	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Olive	12	29.59	1	2.41	0	0	0	1	0	0	0.0%	13	32.00
Pink	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Red	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
OTHER													
CLOSURES	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
WINDOW GLASS	1	1.31	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	1.31
UNDIAGNOSTIC	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TOTAL	15	37.03	1	2.41	0	0	0	1	0	0	100.00%	16	39.44

Table 5.4: Glass Summary for Excavations Completed in the Parade Ground and by the Tower Steps.

Fort Double Drift- Parade Ground and Tower Steps	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder/ Body	Base	Finish	Lip/Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	%MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
CONTAINER/ BOTTLE													
Aqua/ Clear	2	4.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	2	4.00
Black	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Brown	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	4	5.59	1	36.42	0	1	0	0	0	1	100.0%	5	42.01
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Light Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Light Green	1	7.26	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	7.26
Olive	13	49.09	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	13	49.09
Pink	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Red	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
OTHER													
CLOSURES	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
WINDOW GLASS	1	2.65	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	2.65
UNDIAGNOSTIC	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TOTAL	21	68.59	1	36.42	0	1	0	0	0	1	100.00%	22	105.01

Two diagnostic fragments are large enough to identify: A finish and neck fragment for an aqua/clear bottle with a wide bore (Figure 5.2 a) and a body fragment from a Holbrook and Co Worcestershire Sauce bottle (Figure 5.2 b). The width of bore on the aqua/clear finish is indicative of a medicinal bottle. The wide bore was required to remove dry contents or medicines in granular form. The bottle could also be used for granular citrate of magnesia, pomade or morphine (Herskowitz 1978).

Two additional fragments are unidentified: A colourless single part finish (Type C2) and a square base with rounded corners and a circular moulded push up (Type C3). The predominant glass colour found in these two excavations is olive, clear and aqua/clear glass (n=21).

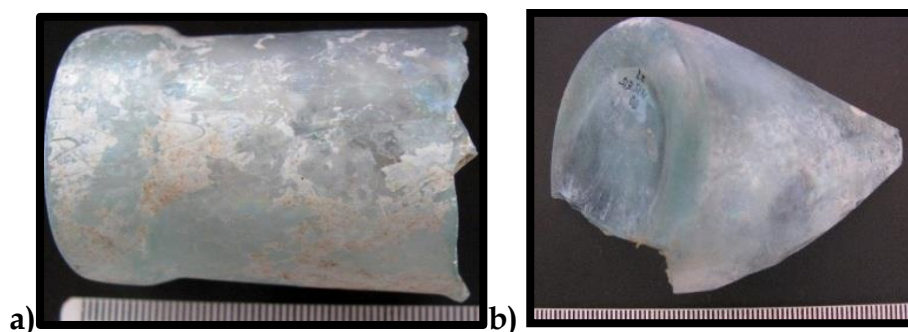


Figure 5.2: Diagnostic Glass-Inside the Fort. a) Medicinal Bottle Finish (For a Morphine Bottle)/ Pomade Bottle (Lindsey 2003); b) Holbrook & Co Worcestershire Bottle.

All the glass excavated inside the fort is a hue of green, black or clear glass. Three out of the four sites excavated inside the fort have predominantly aqua/clear glass while officers' quarters have predominantly shades of green glass. It is unclear whether this small range of glass colours is indicative of the provisioning at the fort. The different glass colour at the officer's quarters may be indicative of the different provisions intended for the officers.

The fact that no alcoholic beverage bottles were excavated inside the fort highlights the incomplete nature of this assemblage. It is also unclear whether this small assemblage is indicative of the inside of the fort being cleared by the game park's management. There is also no documentary record for what was cleared from the surface of the parade ground or from the fort structures. It is, however, possible to draw conclusions of what material may have been collected at Fort Double Drift by comparing it to the surface collection collected by Lita Webley at Botha's Post³¹ in 1995. The glass collected at this post is from beer and spirit bottles. A small sample of thin, white window glass was also recovered suggesting that some of the structures on the site contained glass windows.

5.1.2 Outside the Fort

When the layout of the fort was sketched the plan included a pentagon drawn around the fort. These surveyed points were measured at 600 yards (Approximately 568.64 m) to delineate an area referred to as a rayon (Figure 5.3). This area was reserved for the explicit use of the military (Webb 1998: 42, 89). Once the military moved outside this sphere of influence they could no longer exercise the same tight controls over the landscape as was possible inside the fort.

³¹ Permit No. 8/95/08/008/51



Figure 5.3: Sketch of the Post, Showing the Reserved Ground of 600 Yards Proposed to be transferred to the Ordnance (Cory Library S/757/F).

The soldiers were sent out on regular patrols of the area and people gravitated to the fort walls in search of protection and trade. Captain AG Bain (1836, the commander at Fort Thomson (Cory Library 1102), observed in his journal that the interactions with the people outside the fort were constant and difficult:

June 4th: I rode out on patrol up the Chumie and found, as usual a great number of Kafir cattle on this side the boundary grazing (sic). I expostulated with the owners on the folly of the constant disobedience of orders, assuring them, with the intention of keeping my word too, that the next cattle I saw on this side [of] the boundary should be kept one or two days at Fort Thomson so that they may be deprived of the use of the milk for that time. Although I have not your authority for this, I consider it a mild punishment yet one that will be likely to make them keep their cattle within bounds.

Major Hook (1907: 88) also describes the terrain outside the fort:

...about Double Drift and "Committees" in summer time; the temperature was tremendous. I never was in such a stud of puff-adders, and in addition these interesting vermin sailed down the river in floods from up-country. Our hard leather helmets were of service in forcing passage through density of scrub.

There are however some records of the activities that took place outside the fort. Adam Johannes was given the right to use his land grant outside the fort to grow crops on the proviso that he would also supply John Manley with food for the house of accommodation. This cultivation was partially responsible for the extensive clearance of vegetation around the fort.

The artefacts excavated outside the fort are concentrated in the areas immediately outside the fort's walls. These areas include excavations completed on a feature outside the tower and a smaller midden. The larger midden was situated further away from the fort.

5.1.2.1 Circular Depression and the Excavation Units Outside the Tower

The glass from the circular depression excavated south of the tower and the glass excavated in three units around the tower were combined for this analysis. All four units are close to the fort tower (Table 5.5). The four excavation units were originally selected by Jeppson (2005) due to the proximity of these units to the top of the tower stairs. She felt this area could be a place where illegal dumping occurred. The diagnostic glass at the two sites equates to 10.2% of the total glass assemblage (n=32). The undiagnostic glass assemblage totals 283 sherds in seven different colours.

Table 5.5: Glass Summary for Excavation Completed Outside the Tower.

Fort Double Drift- Outside the Town/Circular Depression	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder/ Body	Base	Finish	Lip / Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	%MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
CONTAINER/ BOTTLE													
Aqua/ Clear	16	35.80	4	15.77	0	0	1	3	0	1	12.5%	20	71.57
Black	56	514.32	6	66.51	0	0	1	0	5	4	50.0%	62	580.83
Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Brown	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	12	37.30	1	11.73	0	1	0	0	0	1	12.5%	13	49.03
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	46	138.68	3	10.20	0	0	0	3	0	0	0.0%	49	148.88
Light Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Light Green	45	128.51	5	16.89	0	0	0	3	2	1	12.5%	50	145.40
Olive	98	252.23	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	98	252.23
Pink	1	2.53	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	1	2.53
Red	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
OTHER													
CLOSURES	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	13	57.63	0	0	0	0	0	1	12.5%	13	57.63
WINDOW GLASS	9	7.47	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	9	7.47
UNDIAGNOSTIC	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TOTAL	283	1134.84	32	178.73	0	1	2	2	7	8	100.00%	315	1315.57

Fragments from a vase were found at the base of the tower. This is the only tableware excavated at Fort Double Drift (Figure 5.4 c). There is no documentary evidence to show that it was intentionally discarded in this location. Similarly, a single finish fragment for an extract bottle or a medicinal bottle was also found (Figure 5.4 a). Fort Double Drift did not have a hospital. The nearest location to receive medical assistance was the hospital at Fort Brown or Grahamstown. While a single fragment is not conclusive evidence of soldiers medicating themselves on site, the presence of this glass does indicate that alternative remedies aside from the customary alcohol ration were available to the fort’s residents.

A single unidentified complete clear base was excavated (Type C4). The base is narrow (22 mm wide) with a ring pontil scar in the centre of the base. Table 5.6 is a summary of two of the nine finish fragments found at the two sites. The remaining seven fragments are too small to identify to a specific vessel. The fact that 90% of the assemblage found at these two sites is glass sherds may be indicative of the fact that this glass was thrown from the top of the tower. The area is sufficiently secluded to support the conclusion that it was utilised for dumping. The diagnostic glass assemblage does not however highlight any distinctive type of glass. It is therefore not possible to ascertain if any of the items recovered from the foot of the tower were illegal purchases made by the soldiers at the fort.

Table 5.6: Alcoholic Beverage Glass Finishes by Bottle Contents.

Excavation Unit	Photograph	Qty	Soda/Mineral Water	Champagne	Wine	Spirits	Whiskey	Brandy	Beer	Ale	Stout	Porter
DD 565 W25	Figure 4.2 b	1			√	√		√	√	√	√	√
DD 565 W30		1			√					√	√	



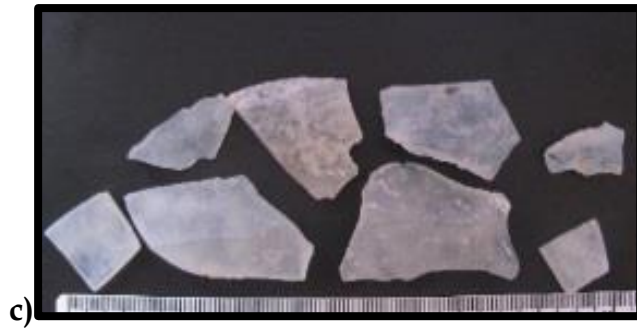


Figure 5.4: Glass Excavated Outside the Tower.

5.1.2.2 Small Midden

Table 5.7: Glass Summary for Excavation Completed at the Small Midden (# complete bottle).

Fort Double Drift- Small Midden	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder/ Body	Base	Finish	Lip/Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	% MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
CONTAINER/ BOTTLE													
Aqua/ Clear	1	7.05	1	212.78	0	1#	0	0	0	1	7.2%	2	219.83
Black	14	155.55	5	699.23	1	2	0	0	2	3	21.4%	19	854.78
Blue	0	0.00	1	119.96	0	1#	0	0	0	1	7.2%	1	119.96
Brown	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	30	147.40	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	30	174.40
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	36	359.55	5	155.01	2	2	0	1	0	4	28.5%	41	514.56
Light Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Light Green	7	102.82	1	16.38	0	0	1	0	0	1	7.2%	8	119.20
Olive	58	273.10	4	233.03	1	0	2	0	1	4	28.5%	62	506.13
Pink	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
Red	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
OTHER													
CLOSURES	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
WINDOW GLASS	10	7.89	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	10	7.89
UNDIAGNOSTIC	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.00
TOTAL	156	1053.36	17	1436.39	4	6	3	1	3	14	100.00%	173	2489.75

The diagnostic glass (Table 5.7) excavated at the small midden is 9.8% of the total diagnostic glass (n=17). The assemblage also has the second highest count of window glass (n=10). All the diagnostic glass in this midden is from alcoholic beverage bottles. The four finish fragments (Figure 5.5 a-d) are summarised in Table 5.8.

Six different types of alcoholic beverages were identified: champagne, wine, whiskey, brandy, beer and stout. The three large body fragments are from a wine, champagne and brandy bottle (Figure 5.5 e-g). A single bulged neck fragment was also found that is normally utilised for brandy or beer bottles. Four complete bases were found. Two cylindrical wine bottle bases (Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7)

will be discussed in more detail later in this section. The other two bases are unidentified. The first base is a complete moulded olive base with a ring around the base (Type C5). The second base is an olive base with a domed push-up (Type C6).

Table 5.7: Alcoholic Beverage Glass Finishes by Bottle Contents.

Excavation Unit	Photograph	Qty	Champagne	Wine	Whiskey	Brandy	Beer	Stout	Porter
DD S25 W35	Figure 5.4a	1	√	√					
DD S25 W35	Figure 5.4b	1		√	√		√		
DD S25 W35	Figure 5.4c	1	√	√					
DD S25 W35	Figure 5.4d	1				√	√	√	

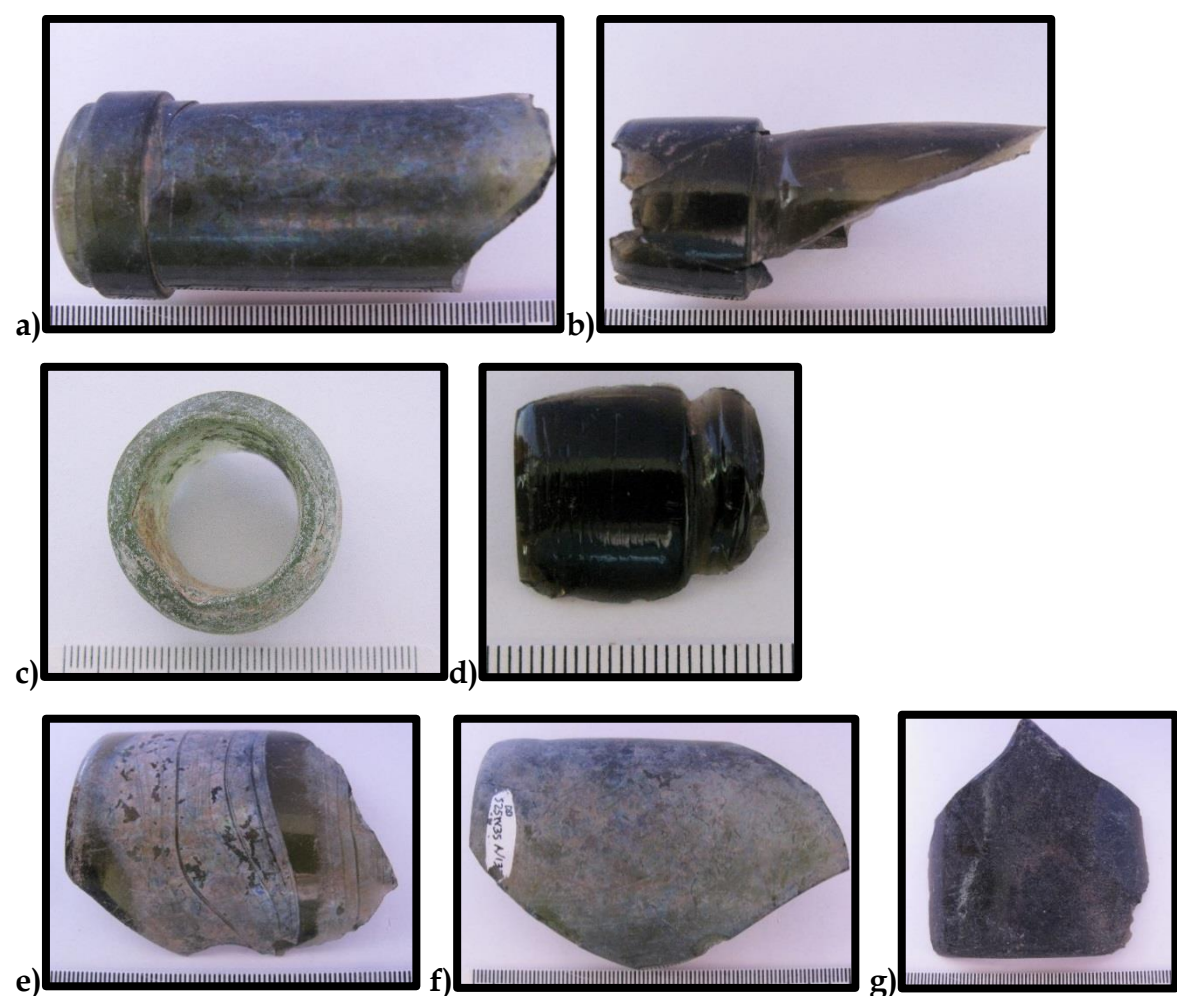


Figure 5.5: Diagnostic Glass from the Small Midden.
a) Champagne/Wine bottle finish; b)-d) Generic Bottle Finish; e)-g) Bottle Body Fragment (Champagne, Wine and Brandy).

A complete black cylindrical wine bottle base was excavated in the smaller midden. The base of this bottle has marks scratched into the surface (Figure 5.6). The scratches appear to be “letters” etched into the base of the bottle. Glass is very difficult to associate directly with the soldiers stationed in the fort. Jones (1985:

115) does however highlight the fact that some soldiers would scratch their initials into the base of their bottles to show possession. This may be what happened on this base.

A second black wine bottle base (Figure 5.7) still bears a visible mark of the manufacturing techniques prevalent in the early 19th century. A pick mark is visible on the inside of the base. This mark formed when a rod was inserted into the hot bottle to move the bottle to the annealing room (Jones 1986: 101).



Figure 5.6: Deliberately Scratched Wine Base.



Figure 5.7: Wine Base with Pick Mark (on the Right Side Halfway Down).

Two complete glass bottles were also found in this midden. These are two of only four complete bottles in the whole Fort Double Drift assemblage. The first of these bottles is an Ayers Lowell Mass medicinal bottle. The second bottle is a narrow cylindrical blue bottle with a tapered neck and foil covering on the finish known as a blue castor oil bottle. It is however evident from the manufacturing techniques used to make both these bottles that they both date to after the research period. This is reinforced by the fact that the blue bottle is the only example of

blue glass in the whole assemblage. Both these bottles do however reinforce Jeppson's (2005) assessment that the smaller midden dated to a later period than the large midden. This midden is also located close to an area of the fort that was utilised by a military unit (The Cape Mounted Police) after the fort was abandoned.

5.1.2.3 Large Midden

Ten units were excavated in the large midden. The diagnostic glass is 8.8% of the total assemblage (n=100) (Table 5.9). Most of the window glass was also found in these excavations (n=168). Due to the size of the diagnostic assemblage the analysis was not broken down into individual units. The glass is divided into three sub-sections, finishes, body and base fragments, and analysed according to bottle contents.

Table 5.8: Glass Summary for Excavation Completed at the Large Midden.

Fort Double Drift- Large Midden	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Diagnostic Sherd Total	Diagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Neck /Shoulder/ Body	Base	Finish	Lip/Rim Diagnostic Fragment	Base Diagnostic Fragment	MNV	%MNV	Total Number	Total Weight
CONTAINER/BOTTLE													
Aqua/Clear	29	58.51	2	54.91	0	2	0	0	0	2	6.5%	31	113.42
Black	188	1364.02	37	1539.16	2	8	3	9	15	13	41.9%	225	2903.18
Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0		0	0	0.00%	0	0.00
Brown	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	28	88.36	4	24.99	0	2	0	0	2	2	6.5%	32	113.35
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	96	488.37	27	384.18	7	0	6	9	5	8	25.8%	123	872.55
Light Blue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00
Light Green	19	46.43	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	19	46.43
Olive	492	1347.53	29	439.70	10	0	5	7	7	5	16.1%	521	1787.23
Pink	7	16.71	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	7	16.71
Red	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00
CLOSURES	0	0.00	0	0.00						0	0.00%	0	0.00
TABLEWARE	0	0.00	1	24.21						1	3.2%	1	24.21
WINDOW GLASS	168	190.83	0	0.00						0	0.00%	168	190.83
UNDIAGNOSTIC	0	0.00	0	0.00						0	0.00%	0	0.00
TOTAL	1027	3600.76	100	2467.15	19	12	14	25	29	31	100.00%	1127	6067.91

The glass finishes are summarized in Table 5.10. All the diagnostic glass is from alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverage bottles. Ten categories were identified: soda/mineral water, champagne, wine, spirits (generic), whiskey, brandy, beer, ale, stout and porter. In Figure 5.8 several different finish types are highlighted and photographed.

The finish and bulged neck fragment in Figure 5.8 a is indicative of a brandy bottle. Figure 5.8 b and e are examples of the same bottle type. In Figure 5.8 e the finish and complete neck of this bottle type is photographed. The laid on strengthening rim applied to this bottle was used for both champagne and wine bottles (Lindsey 2013d). Figure 5.8 c, d and g are examples of the finish types that were indicative of non-alcoholic beverage bottles or carbonated beverage bottles. Figure 5.8 d was however also utilised as a finish type for alcoholic beverages. Figure 5.8 f is a generic bottle utilised for wine and champagne.

Figure 5.8 i is a finish for a carbonated beverage bottle. This bottle is an example of a hand-blown bottle where the finish was applied by hand to the top of the neck. The inside of the neck has a rough indentation where the finish was applied. Also, there are striations running vertically down the neck of the bottle. These are evidence of the tool utilised to form the neck and finish. Figure 5.8 j is an example of a “pig-snout” or rolled lip style for a case/ gin bottle.

Table 5.9: Summary of Diagnostic Finish Fragments Excavated in Large Midden.

Excavation Unit	Photograph	Qty	Soda/Mineral Water	Champagne	Wine	Spirits	Whiskey	Brandy	Beer	Ale	Stout	Porter
DD S175 E45	Figure 5.8 a	1			√			√		√		
DD S175 E45	Figure 5.8 b	1		√	√							
DD S180 E30	Figure 5.8 c	1	√									
DD S185 E25	Figure 5.8 d	3	√					√	√			
DD S180 E30	Figure 5.8 e	3		√	√							
DD S185 E35		1				√	√	√	√	√	√	√
DD S185 E35		1		√	√							
DD S185 E35	Figure 5.8 f	1		√	√							
DD S185 E40	Figure 5.8 g	1	√		√				√			
DD S185 E40	Figure 5.8 h	1			√	√	√				√	√
DD S185 E40		1	√									
DD S185 E40		1	√		√				√		√	
DD S185 E40		1		√	√							
DD S190 E25		1										
DD S190 E30		2	√					√	√			
DD S190 E30	Figure 5.8 i	3		√	√							
DD S195 E30	Figure 5.8 j	2	√						√			



Figure 5.8: Glass Finish Fragments from Large Midden.

a) Generic Bottle, b) Soda Water/ Mineral Water Finish, c) Beer/Brandy Finish, d) Champagne/Wine Finish; e) Generic Finish; f) Generic Spirits Finish; g) Carbonated Beverage Bottle h) Carbonated Beverage Bottle, i) Carbonated Beverage Bottle; j) Case/Gin Bottle Finish.

Figure 5.9 shows the body, neck and shoulder fragments excavated at Fort Double Drift. While this assemblage constitutes 1.2% of the total assemblage (n=24), these fragments provide additional information on the contents of the bottles. The narrow neck fragment in Figure 5.9 b is characteristic of a condiment bottle or a champagne bottle (Jones 1986). Figure 5.9 d is a bulged neck fragment characteristic of ale, beer or brandy bottles (Jones et al 1989). Figure 5.9 e is a body

fragment for a cylindrical wine bottle (Jones 1986) and Figure 5.9 f illustrates the shoulder and body fragments from case bottles.

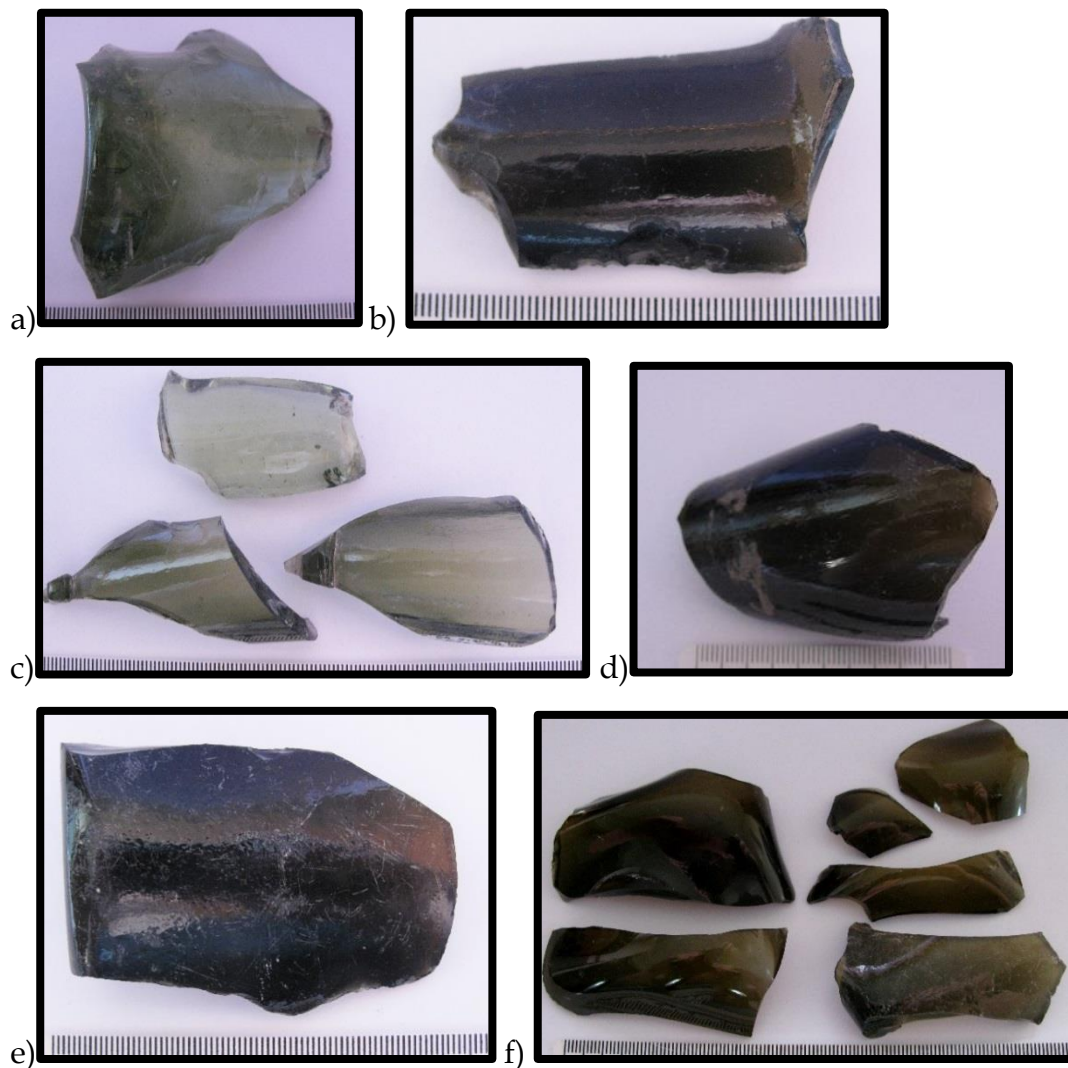


Figure 5.9: Glass Body, Neck and Finish Fragments from the Large Midden.

a) Champagne Bottle; b) Wine bottle neck fragment; c) 3x olive neck fragments (S185 E30); d) Bulged Neck Fragment; e) Cylindrical Wine Bottle Body Fragment.

Figure 5.10 depicts the diagnostic base fragments that were large enough for identification. While the finish fragments are all from alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverage bottles, the bases found in the large midden represent a wider range of glass. Four bases are unidentified. Type C8 is a complete circular bottle base. This base is moulded and there is embossing on the centre of the base (Three mamelons and the letter 'p'). The fact that the embossing is on the centre of the bases dates this base to after 1860 when pontil tools were no longer used on bottles (Lindsey 2013 f). The presence of embossing dates to after 1820 (Kemp 2007). Type C7 is a clear/aqua base from a square bottle. The base is 53 mm x 40 mm in diameter.

This is too small to fit into the same category as flat glass. Type C9 is an aqua/clear base with a domed push-up. Type C10 is a small base, 30 mm in diameter.

Figure 5.10 a is a cylindrical wine bottle with a deep push up and pontil scar. A characteristic of early 19th century glass manufacturing techniques is visible on this base. The pontil scar is off centre surrounded by blue discolouration where the heat discoloured the glass (Lindsey 2013). Clear base fragments from cosmetic bottles are shown in Figure 5.10 b and Figure 5.10 c. Figure 5.10 d is a case/ gin bottle base.

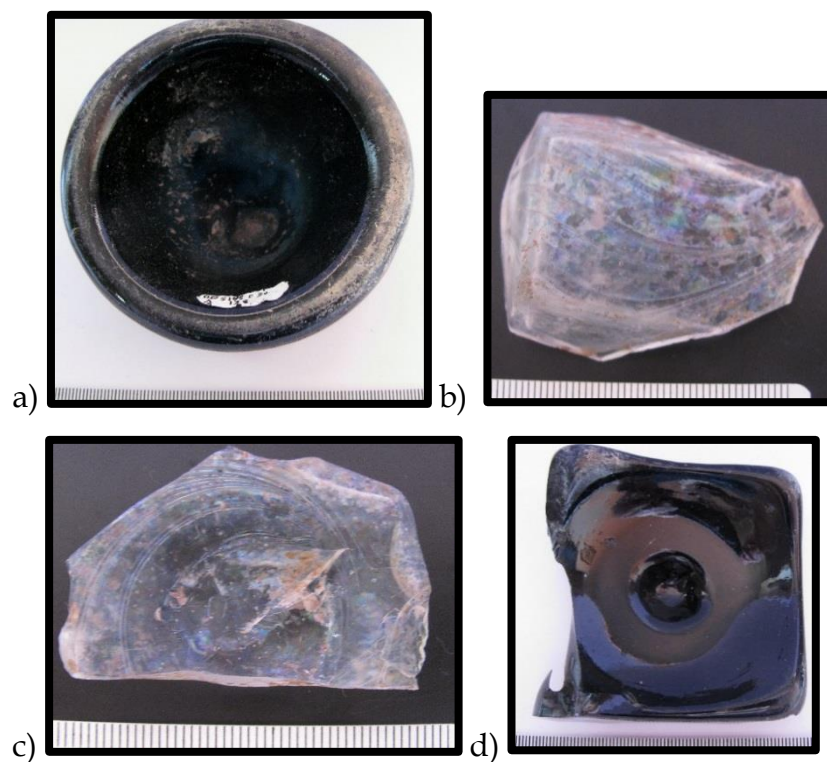


Figure 5.10: Glass Bases from the Large Midden.

a) Complete Black Base with Deep Push-Up; b) Cosmetic Glass; c) Cosmetic Glass; d) Case/Gin Bottle Base.

In addition to the alcoholic bottle glass, two stem fragments and a wine bottle seal were also excavated (Figure 5.11). The wine bottle seal is from a St Julien Medoc bottle (Schulz et al 1980: 97-98). Although wine bottle seals are normally indicative of a select vintage this is not always the case. These bottles were reused, and some researchers have indicated that the vintage in these bottles was often inferior.



Figure 5.11: Wine Bottle Seal and Stem Fragments.

A single finish from a Dutch bitters bottle was found in the large midden (Figure 5.12). These small bottles were used for folk remedies. Lastovica and Lastovica (1982: 46) explain why the bottle has an almost 'plastic' appearance. The bottles were manufactured out of inferior glass and more significantly formed part of the Boer *Huisapoteek*³² (Figure 5.13). The farmers did not trust conventional medicines and preferred to keep a stock of tried and trusted home remedies to cope with illness. The presence of this bottle at Fort Double Drift is evidence of the soldiers meeting the local Boer farmers. It appears possible that one of them may have traded this medicine. Figure 5.13 shows that R. Read, a chemist and druggist in the town, kept Dutch medicines as part of his regular stock. This shows that this type of medicine may have formed part of the stock that was carried into the interior by the traders.



Figure 5.12: Dutch Bitters Bottle

³² Home remedies that were stored in an impromptu pharmacy in Boer homes.

R. READ,

Wholesale Chemist and Druggist,
HILL-STREET, GRAHAM'S TOWN.

HAS constantly on hand, a large supply of
DRUGS AND CHEMICALS
of genuine quality, a great variety of English Patent Medicines, a large quantity of Dispensing and other kinds of Phials; also Glassware of every description, for fitting up Apothecary Shops, &c., Shop Furniture and Materials, Surgeon's Instruments and Nurinas.

A choice assortment of
PERFUMERY,

Consisting of
Pomades | Cold Cream | Fancy Soaps
Essences | Hair Oils | Shaving Soaps,
 &c. &c.

An elegant assortment of
Toilet and Smelling Bottles,
Flower Vases; Hair, Tooth, Nail, Shaving, Hat
and Clothes Brushes; Dressing and Small-tooth
Combs.

ALSO,
Spices | Gelatine, Sago
Isinglass | Arrow Root.

A large assortment of Lozenges
of every description.

Genuine Dutch Medicines
HUIS APOTHEEK,
and a great variety of sundry articles.

Mr. R. begs to thank his numerous friends and customers for the kind support he has always received from them, and he flatters himself as he now imports his Medicines direct from London, to be able to offer them at such prices as will ensure to him a continuance of that liberal patronage he has hitherto received. Mr. R. begs to remind his customers, that a great saving of time, and expense of carriage, will be effected by supplying themselves at his Establishment in Graham's Town, over the usual custom of sending to Cape Town for supplies.
Graham's Town, 13th Sept. 1851.

FRESH LARD.

THE undersigned has just received a supply of beautiful FRESH LARD, which he offers for Sale at his Stores in Hill-street, Graham's Town, at reasonable prices.

ROBT. READ, Chemist, &c.

Figure 5.13: Advertisement for Dutch Medicines (The Graham's Town Journal 13 Sept 1851).

Figure 5.14 summarises the colours for the glass in the large midden. While each of the 10 units produced both diagnostic and undiagnostic glass there was no undiagnostic glass for one of the 10 units in the artefact boxes (DD S185 E25). This is not feasible considering the compact nature of the material in the midden and the fact that the other nine excavation units all have undiagnostic bottle glass. It is unclear if a different excavation methodology was employed for this unit.

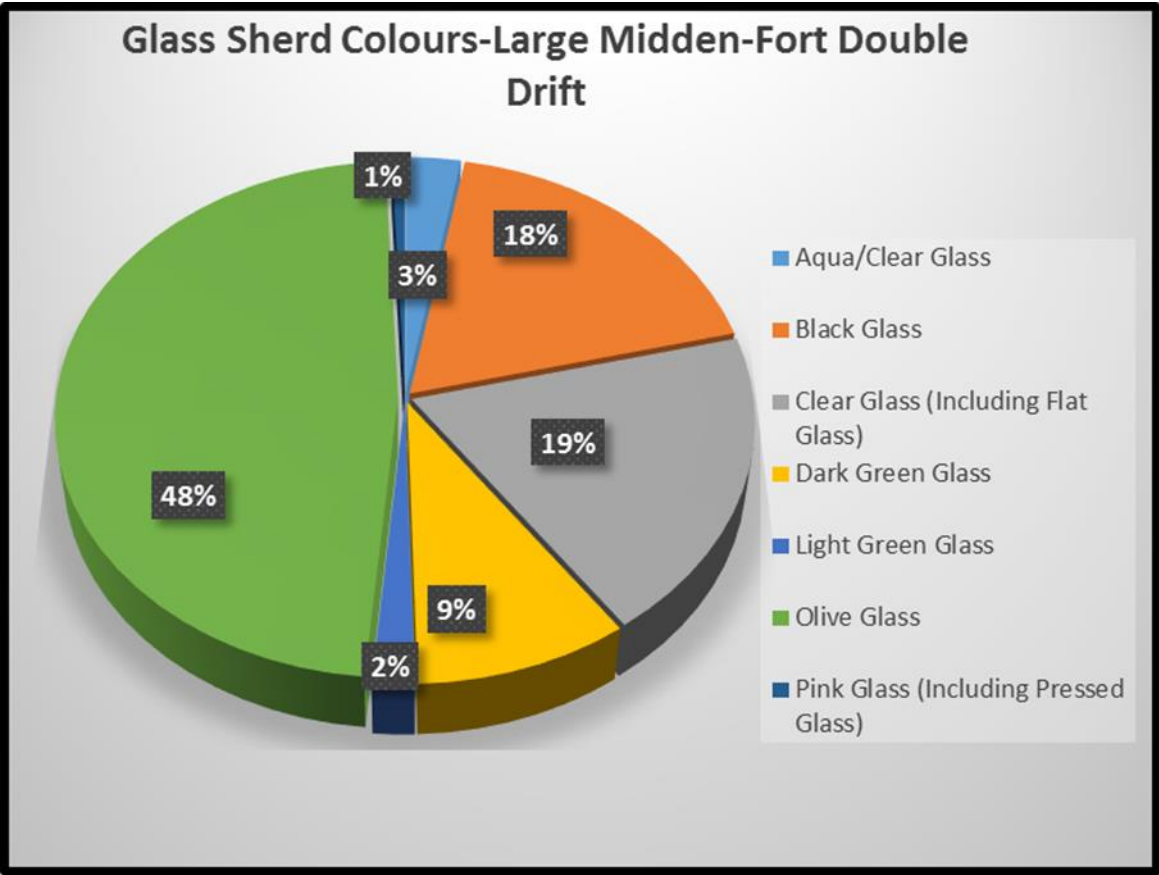


Figure 5.14: Glass Colour Breakdown for Large Midden.

5.1.3 Window Glass

A small quantity of window glass (n=188) was found at Fort Double Drift (Table 5.11). Most of this flat glass category was found in the two middens (89%). The location of this glass does not permit conclusions to be drawn about the number of windows that were installed at the fort (Figure 5.15). There is, however, a record of what the window apertures looked like at Fort Double Drift. During a visit to

the fort the National Society made observations about the window frames at Fort Double Drift (Cory Library MS 6256 B50/11):

...Several of the window apertures are framed in wood, secured not with screw or nails, but with wooden pegs, which is a detail found in many military buildings of the period, and in some old dwelling houses.



Figure 5.15: Window Aperture in the Wall of Fort Double Drift (Cory Library 6256).

Table 5.10: Window Glass Excavated at Fort Double Drift.

FORT DOUBLE DRIFT	WINDOW GLASS			
	TOTAL QTY	TOTAL WEIGHT (G)	WIDTH OF UNDER 1MM	WIDTH OF OVER 1MM
Officer's Quarter's (NE Side of N Wall)	1	1,31	1	0
NCOS Quarters/Stables	2	8,36	1	1
Small Midden	10	7,89	10	0
Excavation by Tower Steps	1	2,65	0	1
Excavation West of Tower	9	7,47	9	0
Large Midden	165	188,14	145	20
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>188</u>	<u>215,82</u>	<u>166</u>	<u>22</u>

Demers (2009: 366) also states that officers' accommodation was built to higher standards than the accommodation for the enlisted men (see also Vincent 1993). There is a possibility that glass was installed in the windows of the officers' accommodation. Unfortunately, only three glass fragments were found in the excavations completed inside the fort, so this cannot be substantiated at Fort Double Drift. Window glass also was included in the tenders for supplies for the Royal Engineers (Figure 5.16). From the advertisement it is evident that glass was ordered in several different sizes for the fortifications.

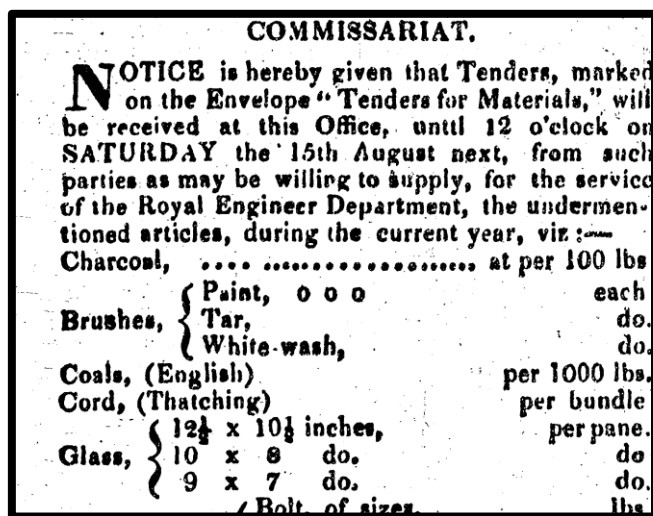


Figure 5.16: Window Glass Advertisement (*The Graham's Town Journal*- 6 August 1835).

5.1.4 Beads

Four beads were excavated at Fort Double Drift. The blue bead and red bead (Figure 5.17 a-b) are Venetian translucent wound beads, produced from the 1830s onwards. The presence of this type of bead at Fort Double Drift is indicative of the level of connection between this fortification and Fort Willshire. In her work at Fort Willshire, Bugarin (2002: xviii) noted that Fort Willshire was a significant centre for bead and horn trade during the duration of the trade fairs. Figure 5.17 c is a perlemoen disc bead and Figure 5.17 d is a long drawn striped complex bead. The bead is broken along the hole running through the centre of the bead.

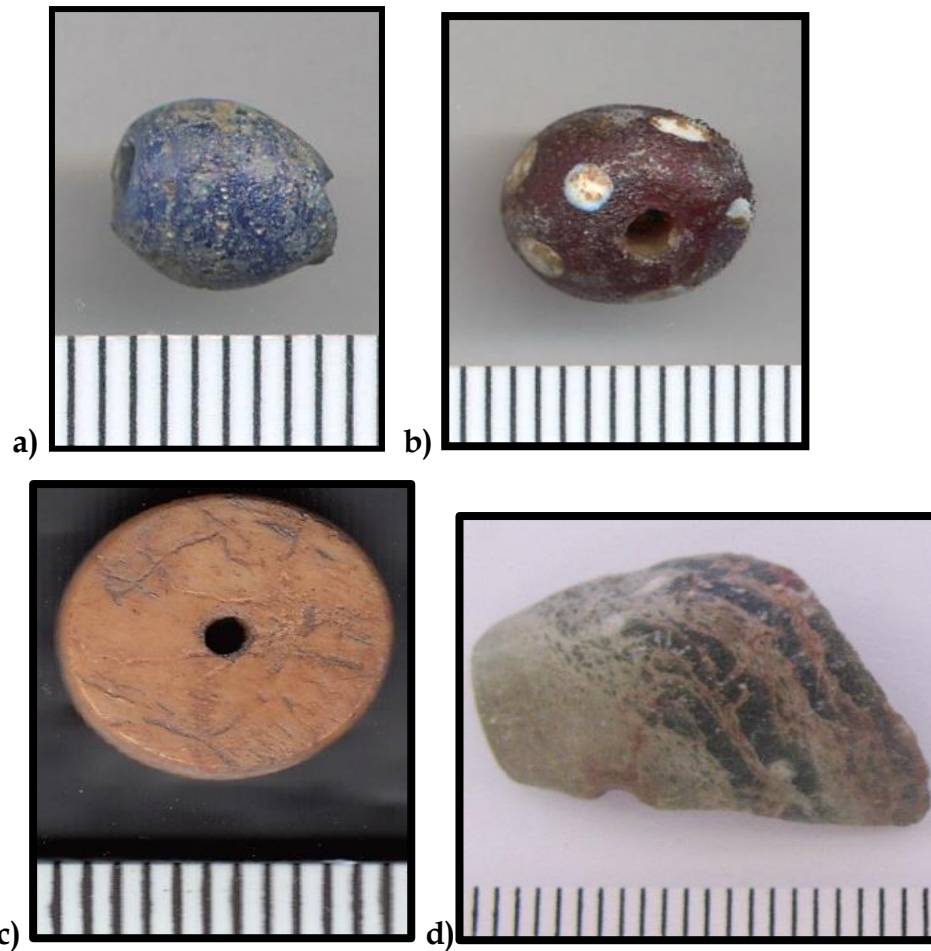


Figure 5.17: Beads Excavated at Fort Double Drift.

5.2 METAL ARTEFACT ANALYSIS AT FORT DOUBLE DRIFT

Metal was utilised in every aspect of the daily operations at Fort Double Drift. It formed part of the construction of the fort and was utilised for both personal and business activities. King (1855: 293) describes metal working activities he observed while walking through the camp:

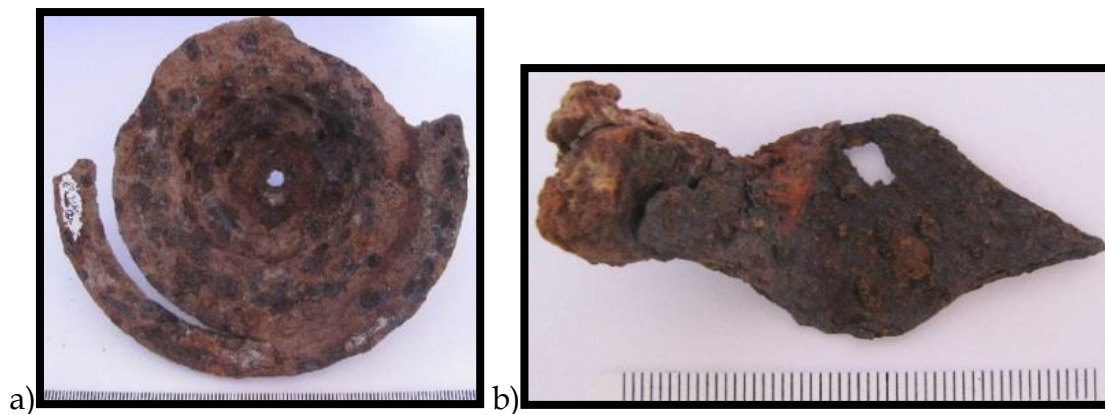
Further on were tents full of tailors and shoemakers, repairing the wear and tear of former marches and preparing against others to come; commissariat contractors weighing and issuing forage and rations; and farriers shoeing horses by candle-light...

The metal excavated at Fort Double Drift is analysed by category and function. The inside and outside of the fort are combined in this analysis.

5.2.1 Furnishings and Cutlery

A lamp base and a corroded hinge from a chest are the only furnishings that were excavated (Figure 5.18 a-b). The bowls of three spoons and two knife handles were found in the large midden (Figure 5.18 c). One of the handles is inscribed with a surname and regiment number: O'Donnell and the number 91 (Figure 5.18 d). A knife handle and knife blade were removed from the assemblage and included in a museum travelling case³³ (Figure 5.19).

It is unclear whether these furnishings were supplied by the military or if they were part of the personal belongings of the individual soldiers. However, as lamps and cutlery were also ubiquitous in the domestic households of Grahamstown these items are not incongruous in the temporary homes that the soldiers created for themselves. Figure 5.18 b, a hinge from a chest, highlights the transient nature of the soldier's accommodation. The soldiers' belongings were always portable. It is also possible that soldiers' travelling trunks served the dual purpose of a closet as well as a table or writing desk.



³³ The case was created by Jeppson on completion of her research to act as an educational tool. Her aim was to use the case to educate the pupils in the schools around Grahamstown, and in the Eastern Cape, about her research and about archaeology.

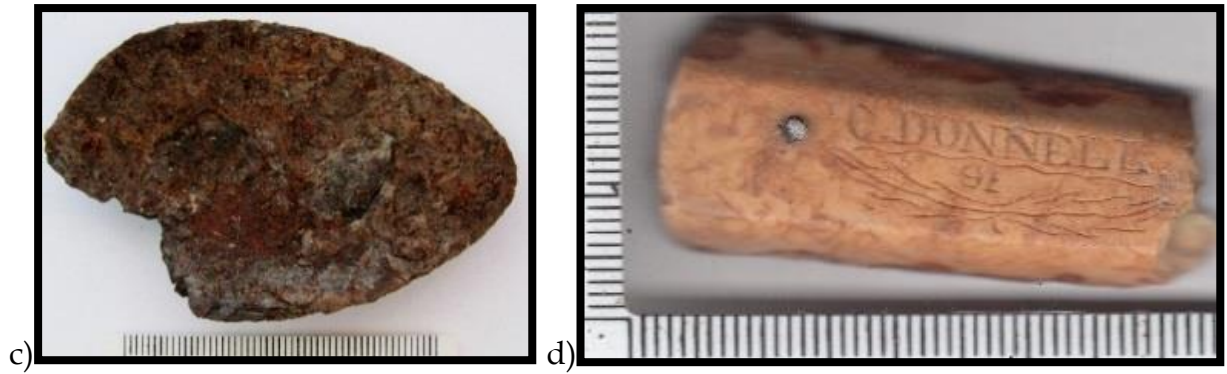


Figure 5.18: Personal Items Supplied by the Military.

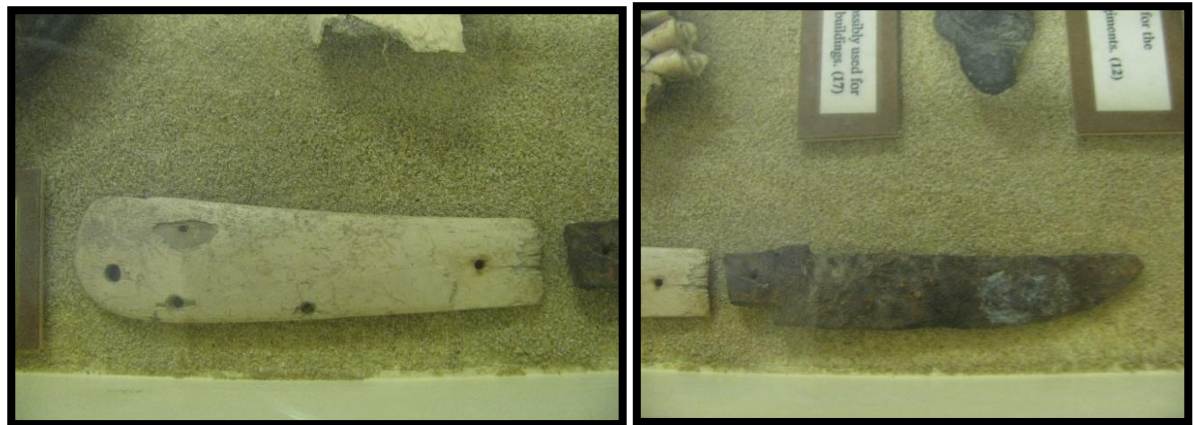


Figure 5.19: Knife blade and handle (Museum travelling Case-Albany Museum).

5.2.2 Personal Items

The personal items found at the site provide an additional lens through which to visualise the soldiers' quarters and the activities in the camp. Three personal items were excavated. A small metal piece engraved with two letters (see also Figure 5.20 b, a drawing by L Deysel 2014) appears to come from a small personalised metal box, possibly a snuff box or a box for small keepsakes (Figure 5.20 a). The sides and ends of this piece have been sharpened and it appears the piece was deliberately cut. Figure 5.20 c, a Jew's harp, is the only musical instrument excavated at the fort. This artefact symbolises how the soldiers spent their leisure time. Figure 5.20 d is a monocle or part of a pendant that would have been attached to a chain.



Figure 5.20: Personal Items from Fort Double Drift (Drawing L Deysel 2014).

5.2.3 Clothing Accessories and Footwear

The clothing accessories and shoe accessories excavated at the fort were all excavated from the large midden. The nine artefacts excavated can be divided into two categories: footwear accessories and clothing hooks. Three shoelace eyes and a metal shoe heel plate were excavated (Figure 5.21 a-b). Five clothing hooks were found. In Figure 5.21 c-f, the four different types of clasps and hooks have been photographed. The buttons found at the fort are dealt with in a separate section below. This was done to separate the utilitarian buttons from the regimental buttons.





Figure 5.21: Clothing Accessories at Fort Double Drift.

5.2.3.1 Utilitarian buttons

The utilitarian button assemblage at Fort Double Drift is larger than the assemblage of military buttons found at the site. A tender for material printed in *The Graham's Town Journal* on 30 January 1835 showed that the military also used utilitarian buttons (Figure 5.22). These buttons are utilised as a temporary replacement for regimental buttons (Olsen 1963: 552).

There are no indications of whether the sew-through buttons were easier to sew on than the shanked buttons or whether there was a shortage of thread at the fort. It is also unclear how long units were stationed at Fort Double Drift and whether the formal army regulations were relaxed on the frontier. The number of buttons varied according to the item of clothing worn by the soldiers. Gaiters had between 10 and 15 buttons depending on the height of the soldier. Breeches had five pewter buttons on each side. The jackets had buttons on the cuffs, lapels and the front of the jacket and varied in number from 10 to as many as 30 buttons (Henderson n.d.).

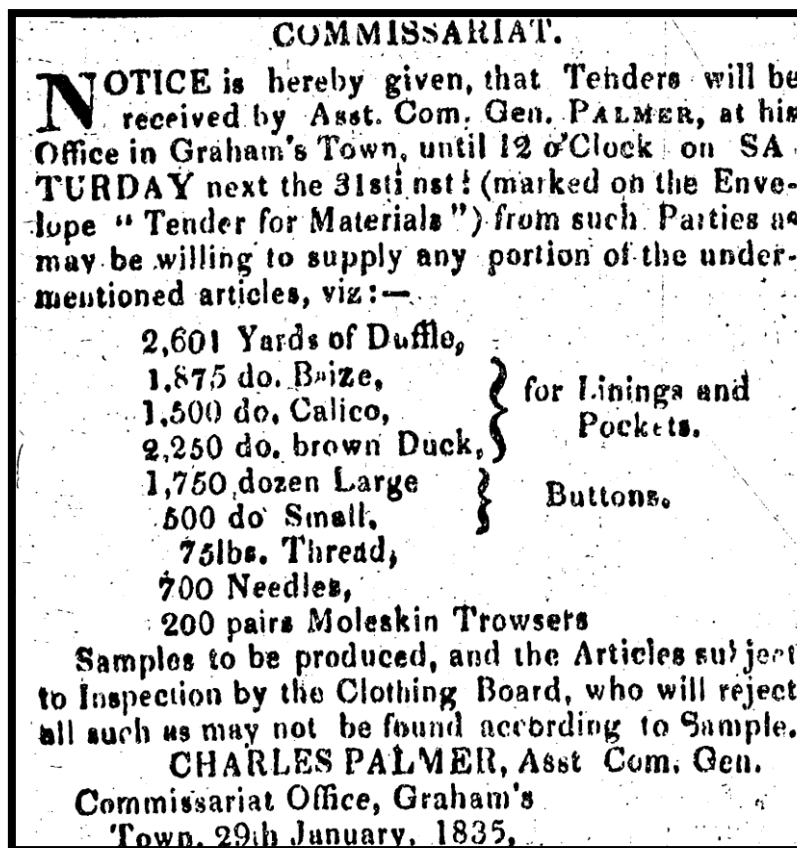
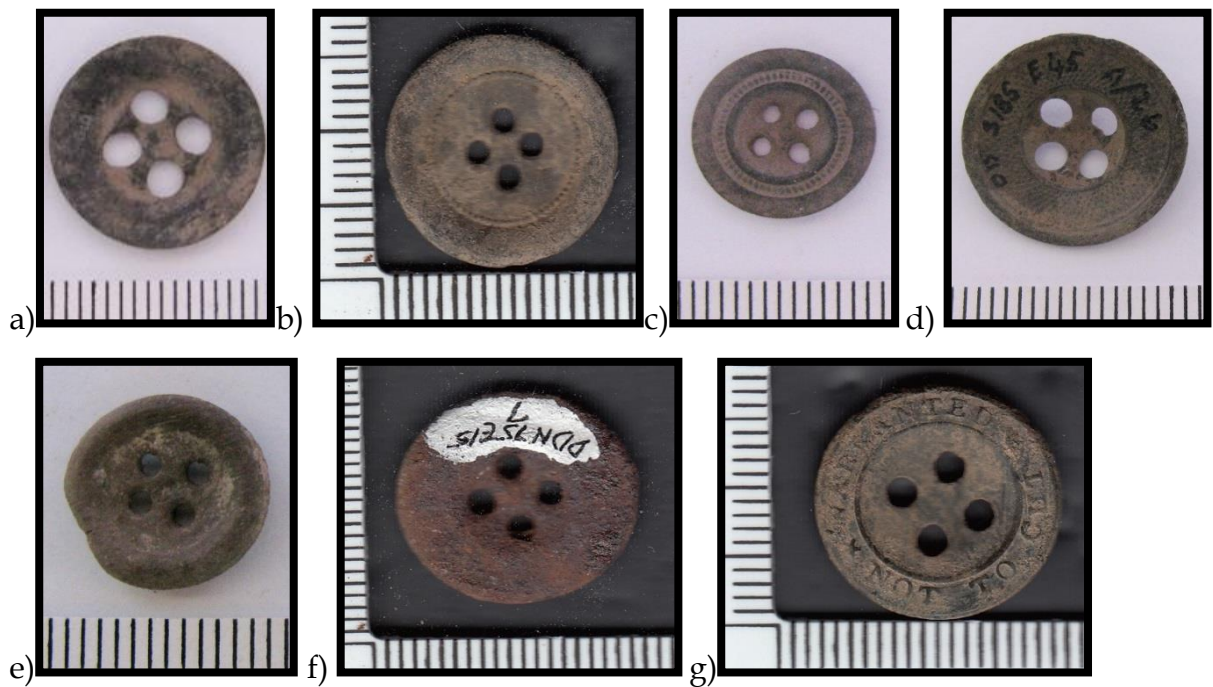


Figure 5.22: Commissariat Tender for Buttons (*The Graham's Town Journal* 30 January 1835).

A total of 21 metal buttons was excavated at the site (Table 5.12). The assemblage is predominantly made up of 4-hole sew through buttons. Many of the buttons are blank (undecorated) (Figure 5.23 a). Two buttons were decorated with a single dotted line around the circumference of the button (Figure 5.23 b-c) and a brass button has a pitted pattern across the whole face of the button (Figure 5.23 d). Five of the 4-hole sew through buttons are corroded and no pattern could be discerned on the buttons. One of the buttons has the wording "Warranted Not to Cut" etched around the circumference of the button (Figure 5.23 g). Three brass coat buttons (Jeppson 2005) with the loop shanks still intact were also excavated (Figure 5.23 i-j).

Table 5.11: Utilitarian Button Assemblage from Fort Double Drift.

Utilitarian Buttons					
Location	Photograph	Qty	Description	Identification	Reference
Large Midden	Figure 5.23 a	2	Undecorated 4-hole metal button	Trouser Button	Sprague 2002/Lindbergh 1999
Large Midden	Figure 5.23 b	5	4-hole metal button decorated with a single row of dots	Trouser Button	Sprague 2002/Lindbergh 1999
Large Midden	Figure 5.23 c	1	4-hole metal button with a broad row of dots	Trouser Button	Sprague 2002/Lindbergh 1999
Large Midden	Figure 5.23 d	1	Brass button with pitted pattern and concave middle, 4-holes	Trouser Button	Sprague 2002/Lindbergh 1999
Large Midden/NCO Quarters	Figure 5.23 e-f	2	Iron buttons, 4-holes	Trouser Button	Sprague 2002/Lindbergh 1999
Large Midden/Tower Stairs	Figure 5.23 g	2	4-hole button embossed with the words "Warrented Not to Cut"	Trouser Button	Sprague 2002/Lindbergh 1999
Large Midden	Figure 5.23 h	1	Brass Button with Shank	Brass Coat Button	Jeppson (2005)
Large Midden	Figure 5.23 i	1	Brass Button with Shank	Brass Disc Button	Jeppson (2005)



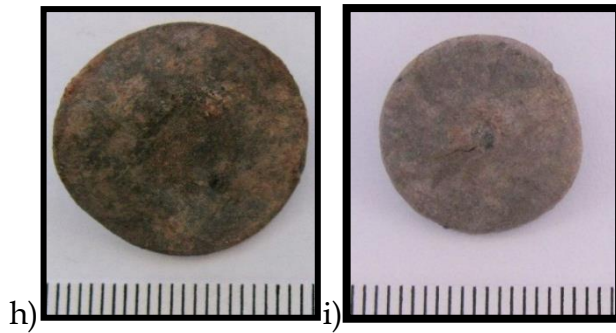


Figure 5.23: Utilitarian Button Assemblage from Fort Double Drift.

5.2.3.2 Regimental Buttons

Jeppson (2005: 10, 143) traced several units through documentary records that were stationed at Fort Double Drift. Between 1836 and 1853 the following units were stationed at the fort: the 1st Battalion of the 91st Regiment of Foot, the 27th Regiment of Foot, the 72nd Regiment of Foot, the Royal Sappers and Miners and the Royal Regiment of Artillery. A local unit, the Cape Mounted Rifles, was also stationed with these British units. While additional troops and volunteer units cannot be traced in the documentary records the Albany Police were stationed at the fort in 1855.

In Table 5.13, the regimental buttons excavated at Fort Double Drift are summarised. Distinctive features and wording on the buttons enabled the buttons to be tentatively dated. It was also borne in mind that there would be differences between the buttons worn by the officers and those worn by the men (see also Wilkinson-Latham 2002: 61). A comparison of the documentary and archaeological records revealed that not all the units are represented in both resources. No buttons representative of the 72nd Regiment and the Royal Sappers and Miners were found in the archaeological record.

In Figure 5.24 two buttons for the 27th Regiment were photographed. Both buttons reflect the regiment number. The main difference is that the first of the two buttons does not have the castle on the button. The fact that the castle is missing allows this button to be identified as an 'other ranks' button used on the scarlet shell jackets between c1840 to 1870. These buttons are scarce as most of the

buttons were manufactured with the castle on the button (Steve Newman 2017: Personal Communication).

The excavation did however yield two extra buttons from military units that are not highlighted in the documentary record: A button from the 45th Regiment of Foot and a button that was used on the Dorman jackets worn by the Royal Fusiliers or the Prince Albert's Own Leicestershire Yeomanry Cavalry (Figure 5.24). It is acknowledged that the presence of these two buttons does not indicate that the units they represent were stationed at Fort Double Drift. The presence of these buttons does represent a level of interaction between the different fortifications and units.



Figure 5.24: Regimental Buttons from Fort Double Drift.

Table 5.12: Summary of Regimental Buttons Excavated at Fort Double Drift.

<u>Units Buttons</u>	<u>Qty</u>	<u>Description of Button</u>	<u>Button Chronology</u>	<u>References</u>
27 th Regiment of Foot (Enniskilling)	2	A Castle with Three Turrets Flying the Flag of St George, with '27' underneath	Prior to 1840 (Inferred from to the Enniskilling spelling)	Ripley (1971:18); Wilkinson-Latham (2002:64)
27 th Regiment of Foot	1	Crowned '27' with no Castle		
45 th Regiment of Foot ((Nottinghamshire Regiment) Sherwood Foresters)	1	Crowned '45' Within a French Scroll with Dot	c1820	Ripley (1971:20); Wilkinson-Latham (2002:65)
91 st Regiment of Foot-Argyllshire & Sutherland Highlanders)	3	Crowned '91' within a single line circle. Inside the edge of the circle, 'Argyllshire Regiment' (other ranks). 1855, for all.	c1830-1855	Ripley (1971:23); Wilkinson-Latham (2002:67)
Royal Regiment of Artillery	2	A Crown Surmounting Three Guns. In 1838 a scroll was added beneath with 'Ubique' and a scalloped edge (present on both buttons)	1833-1838	Wilkinson-Latham (2002:55,69)
Royal Fusiliers/Princ Albert's Own Leicestershire Yeomanry Cavalry	1	Hussar Ball Buttons	1873-1901	The Prince Alberts Own Yeomanry Website

Three crests were excavated at the site. These crests do not provide additional information on the units stationed at Fort Double Drift. None of the crests are complete. On two of the crests only the crown is intact. The third, most complete crest, accessioned to the museum travelling case, has the crown and complete filigree behind it but no identifying marks that identify it to a specific unit (Figure 5.25).

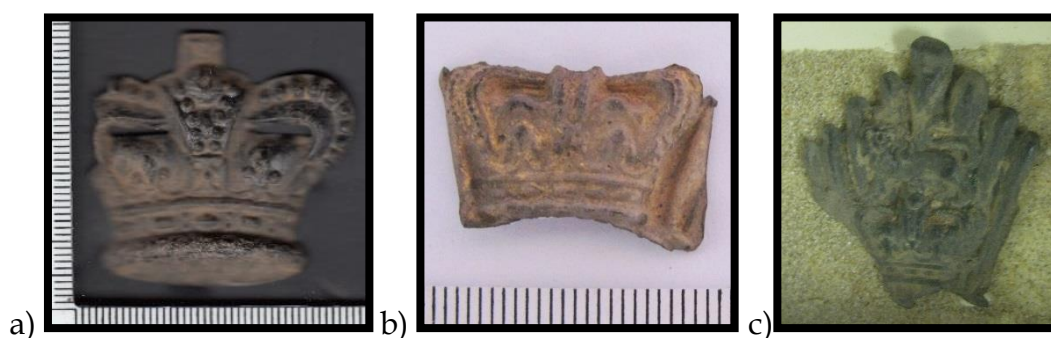


Figure 5.25: Hat Crests from Fort Double Drift.
(Photograph on the right-taken of the hat crest accessioned to the Travelling Case established by Jeppson).

5.2.4 Utility Items and Building Materials

Apart from the nails, wire is the largest category of utility items and building materials found at Fort Double Drift. Assorted wire weighing 191.26 g was excavated from all the locations. In addition to this several sheets of zinc and a heavy metal circular pipe section were also excavated from the large midden.

Building materials were however not the only maintenance items excavated from the midden. Everyday materials used at the fort were also found. The bases of several tin pails as well as the bolts and hinge pieces of these pails were also found (Figure 5.26).



Figure 5.26: Building Materials and Everyday Items from Fort Double Drift.

5.2.4.1 Nails

Middleton (2005: 57) analysed the effectiveness of creating a nail typology by using the head of the nail as the point of reference. Her main concern with this type of typology was the fact that it would be limited when the nails you are analysing are deteriorated. When a nail deteriorates the head is often the least identifiable part left of the nail. In this situation the researcher then needs to rely on the shank of the nail to glean as much information as possible about the date and method of manufacture.

When the shank of a wrought nail deteriorates the pieces of metal break off from the nail body in lengths (Figure 5.27). This is because the nail body is manufactured with the grain. In contrast to this, cut nail are produced cross grained and a pinch mark is visible at the top of the shank below the head of the nail (Middleton 2005: 56-57). These differences allow a researcher to extend their analysis to include damaged nails and those where the head of the nail is missing or damaged.



Figure 5.27: Nail Fragments-Broken with the Grain.

The initial analysis, completed at Fort Double Drift, identified the nails from the form of the nail head. The nails found inside and outside the fort were analysed separately (Figure 5.28, Table 5.14 & Table 5.15). A decision was taken to expand the nail analysis by focusing on the shanks of the undiagnostic nails found at the fort. Fort Double Drift is an ideal site to complete this type of analysis as an extensive floor clearing was done during one of the excavations inside the fort. This cleaning yielded a mixed collection of diagnostic and undiagnostic nails.

Similar analysis was not possible at Huntley Street and Farmerfield. At Huntley Street the water damage to the undiagnostic nails made it impossible to identify any manufacturing methods. At Farmerfield most of the undiagnostic nails were found in two of the hamlets: *Middel Plaas* and *Elisutho*. The assemblage at *Middel Plaas* is complicated by the modern-day use of the hamlet while the nail assemblage at *Elisutho* yielded the largest diagnostic assemblage at the mission station and it was felt that the information that could be added by the undiagnostic nails would be negligible.

Table 5.13: Diagnostic Nails Excavated Inside the Fort at Fort Double Drift.

Inside the Fort	Stables/NCO Quarters		NE Side of N Wall		Test By Tower Steps		Test Excavation-Parade Ground	
	Qty	Weight (g)	Qty	Weight (g)	Qty	Weight (g)	Qty	Weight (g)
Rosehead Nails-Wrought & Cut	3	38.61	4	26.19				
T-Shaped Nails	40	141.55	2	3.61				
Tacks/Sprigs/Braggs					2	4.47		
Wire Nails	10	28.47			2	30.00		
Square Nails	9	27.01						
Screws								
Spike								
Nut & Bolt								
Bolt								
L-Shaped Nails	10	44.50						
Butterfly Headed Nails	2	18.49						
Modern Nails								
Undiagnostic Nails	33	106.00	32	74.71	2	19.11	0	0
Total	105	378.59	38	104.51	6	53.58	0	0
Undiagnostic Metal		22.65		5.27		54.50		3.16

Table 5.14: Diagnostic Nails Excavated Outside the Fort at Fort Double Drift.

Outside the Fort	Test Excavation-West of Tower		Circular Depression		Small Midden		Large Midden	
	Qty	Weight (g)	Qty	Weight (g)	Qty	Weight (g)	Qty	Weight (g)
Rosehead Nails-Wrought & Cut	2	14.41	2	22.13	2	6.08	32	298.47
T-Shaped Nails	6	18.20	12	36.39			77	279.93
Tacks/Sprigs/Braggs	3	8.49	2	3.54			6	10.37
Wire Nails	3	3.73					48	84.39
Square Nails	2	20.95	2	2.50			10	56.12
Screws	1	6.82					8	35.67
Spike							2	119.57
Nut & Bolt							1	105.91
Bolt							3	98.56
L-Shaped Nails							2	7.00
Butterfly Headed Nails							7	52.72
Modern Nails							1	1.92
Undiagnostic Nails	51	124.03	5	14.17			25	427.42
Total	68	196.63	23	78.73	2	6.08	113	999.65
Undiagnostic Metal		263.79		0		50.57		1155.99

The quantity and weight of the undiagnostic nails for each location are summarised in Table 5.16. When the shanks were used to re-examine these nails, it was possible to identify some of the undiagnostic nails as either wrought or cut

nails. The wrought and cut nail breakdown does not add up to the total for each location. This is because only fragments longer than 5 cm in length were included in the total. The smaller fragments were excluded as the hypothesis was that the smaller the fragment the higher the possibility that the fragment broke off a larger nail fragment.

Table 5.15: Undiagnostic Nails by Location at Fort Double Drift.

Undiagnostic Nails	Qty	Weight	Wrought Nails	Cut Nails
Stables/NCO Quarters	33	106.00	15	13
NE Side of Wall	32	74.71	10	8
Test by Tower Steps	2	19.11	2	0
Test Excavations West of the Tower	51	124.03	30	11
Circular Depression	5	14.17	3	2
Large Midden	25	427.42	15	10
<u>Total</u>	<u>148</u>	<u>765.44</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>44</u>





Figure 5.28: Nails Excavated at Fort Double Drift
a) T-Shaped nails; b) Wire nails; c) Screws; d) Bolts; e) Nut; f) Tacks.

5.2.5 Military Ordnance

Three different types of military ordnance were excavated at Fort Double Drift. All three of the categories date from the period of study at the fort: top hat percussion caps (n=15), spent shot (n=2) and gun flints (n=4) (Figure 5.29 a-e). While it is unclear what type of weapons were carried by the soldiers at the fort the ordnance report (*Returns Showing the Number and Description of Arms Received into the Ordnance Stores on the Eastern Cape Frontier*), for the period of 1 December 1834 to June 1838 (KAB LG 145, reproduced in Jeppson 2005: 141), showed that six muskets were delivered to the fort in July 1835.

The fact that gunflint and percussion caps were found at Fort Double Drift indicates that the weapons at the fort were updated as newer weapons were introduced to the various units of the military. Stone shot was also excavated at the fort. This manufacturing method dates to between the 14th and the 17th century. The presence of this shot at Fort Double Drift can possibly be explained by the fact that stone shot required half the amount of powder to fire than was used by their metal equivalent (Scott 1973: 15). This may indicate that the soldiers at the fort were familiar with the manufacturing process and created some of these munitions as a means of supplementing their stores.

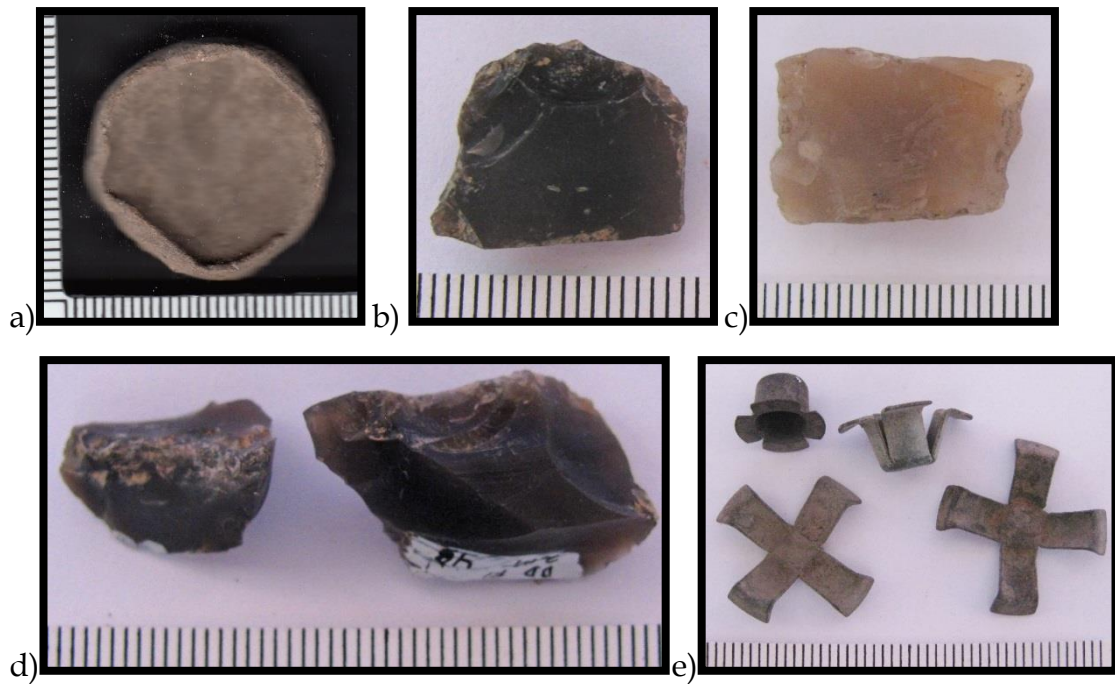


Figure 5.29: Ordnance Excavated at Fort Double Drift.

The percussion cap lock for rifles was introduced between 1834 and 1842 (Peires 1981: 157). Scott (1973: 236) found that a Reserve Battalion of the 91st Regiment was eventually the only unit still using flintlock rifles in the Cape. The military kept a small quantity of flint earmarked for use by this unit until their percussion weapons arrived. This regiment saw long service in the Cape Colony. During that time the 91st Regiment was stationed at Fort Double Drift for a short period.

All the gun flint found at the site was British and French in origin (Kenmotsu 1990: 92, 95-96). Figure 5.29 b is a black rectangular English flint, with indications that it was partly changed into a d-shaped gunspall. Figure 5.29 c is a rectangular blonde French gunspall and Figure 5.29 d is a black English gunflint chip (Ballin 2012: 116-118). The fact that there were three different gunflint types found at the fort appears to indicate that the flint at the fort was rejuvenated. This could possibly be because the fort did not have a large supply of flint (Ballin 2012: 116-118). This fact coupled with the stone shot found at the site highlights the resourcefulness of the soldiers.

5.2.6 Buckles and Horseshoes

Figure 5.30 shows the complete horseshoes and horseshoe fragments excavated at Fort Double Drift. Figure 5.30 a is the only horseshoe that was excavated inside the fort. The horseshoe is broad in diameter and there is a toe clip visible on the right side of the horseshoe. The horseshoes depicted in Figure 5.30 b-d, were found in the large midden. While two of the four horseshoes are incomplete the remaining two horseshoes are narrower than the horseshoe that was found inside the fort. Another complete horseshoe was also found in the large midden. This horseshoe is the same width as the two horseshoes in Figure 5.30 b and d. It was, however, too fragile to photograph. A horseshoe found in the small midden was accessioned to the museum travelling case (Figure 5.30 e) (Herskowitz 1978 & 1979).





e)

Figure 5.30: Horseshoes Excavated at Fort Double Drift.

All the metal buckles excavated at Fort Double Drift were found in the large midden. A total of six buckles were excavated. Two of the six buckles are fragmented. The remaining four buckles can be identified. In the top row of Figure 5.31 from left to right there is a roller buckle and a bar buckle. In the second row there is a roller buckle and a D-buckle (Herskowitz 1979).



Figure 5.31: Buckles Excavated in Large Midden.

5.3 FORT DOUBLE DRIFT CONCLUSION

The soldiers moving between the fortifications carried a minimum amount of gear (Webb 1998). Additional rations, over and above those issued to the soldiers, would only be visible once the troops had settled in a specific location and had the chance to acquire these items. Although the movement of the soldiers were severely restricted there were opportunities to interact with traders and the community that formed in and around the fortification. All these factors impacted the environment and the glass and metal found in the fort.

Fort Double Drift is the only site that has a complete set of field notes. Despite this there are three excavations that have not been included in this research as the context of the three units are unclear (Bag references-DD RWG, DD RWG & PLJ and Jan Topsoil). The artefacts found in these three excavations mirrored those visible in the other excavation units, so a decision was taken to exclude these units in their entirety from the final analysis of the material at Fort Double Drift.

Only 15% of the total glass assemblage excavated at Fort Double Drift is over 5 cm in length. Bottle glass constitutes 89% of the total diagnostic glass excavated at the fort. The remaining two categories, tableware and medicinal glassware, make up 5% and 6% of the assemblage respectively. Alcoholic beverage bottles and non-alcoholic beverage bottles make up a large part of the bottle glass assemblage. A canteen was established at Fort Double Drift (Figure 5.32) and alcohol formed part of the rations allocated to the soldiers. Wine and champagne bottles account for 55% of the total alcoholic beverage bottles (Figure 5.33). This is interesting especially as Scott (1973: 127) showed that the soldiers were more likely to be given “brandy, rum or arrack” and the equivalent of “one gallon of beer for a half a pint of spirit, or a pint of wine”.

Barrack Canteens.

NOTICE is hereby given, that Tenders will be received by the respective Officers of Her Majesty's Ordnance, at their Office, on or before the 9th Oct., from such persons as may be disposed to Contract for the privilege of supplying the Troops at the undermentioned Posts, with Beer, Wine, Spirits, Bread, Meat, Vegetables, &c., of a good quality at fair and reasonable prices, for the period commencing the 23d October next, and terminating on the 28th Sept., 1838, viz :—

Fort Beaufort, Port Armstrong, Fort Brown, Bathurst, Double Drift, Cawoods', Koonap Drift.	Post Relief, Frazer's Camp, Committee's Drift, Trompeter's Drift, Howse's Farm, Doris Bothas.
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The Tenders must express in words at length the Sum offered at per every ten men per month occupying the Post, and the accepted Bidders will be required to provide two responsible persons to enter into Security in the amount of £50 each for those Posts where the number of men amount to a full Company, and £25 where the number of men is under a full Company, for the due and punctual fulfilment of the Conditions of the Agreement which will be required to be entered into.

Figure 5.32: Tender Process for Barrack Canteen (*The Graham's Town Journal* 12 December 1839).

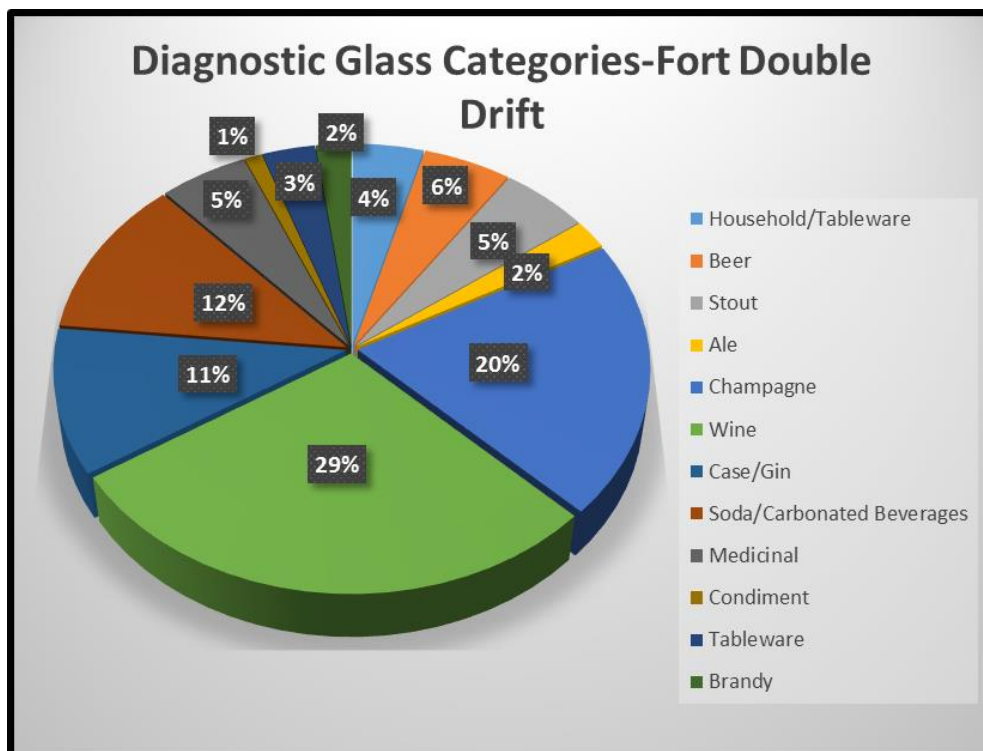


Figure 5.33: Diagnostic Glass Breakdown in Fort Double Drift.

However as seen in Chapter 3 above, wine and champagne were sold and consumed in Grahamstown. Similarly, we also know from the research completed by Bugarin (2002) that drinking formed part of the social routine that developed among the traders who arrived at Fort Willshire to trade. The wine and champagne bottles were visible in the glass excavated from the wagon area. Fort Double Drift was central to both these locations. This significantly increased the likelihood that both beverage types would be visible in Fort Double Drift.

Carbonated beverage bottles did not form part of the official provisions for Fort Double Drift. Like the wine and champagne discussed above, carbonated beverage bottles were bottled and supplied by merchants in the town. Therefore, this glass type was acquired by the soldiers through unofficial supply channels. It also needs to be considered that non-alcoholic beverages may have been used for medicinal purposes.

A sample quantity of medicinal glass was excavated at the fort (n=7). The glass was not found at a single location within the fort. This may indicate that the soldiers self-medicated. Illness is personal, and the soldiers may not have wanted the rest of the staff at the fort to be aware of their ailments. The only decorative tableware fragments found at the fort are the frosted side fragments of a vase. Two stem fragments were excavated in the midden. The fragment from the Holbrook and Co Worcestershire bottle is the only food preparation glass excavated.

Unlike the glass assemblage the metal assemblage contains personal items. These items were the small portable items belonging to the individuals stationed at the fort. The metal added depth to the descriptions of authors, like Webb (1998), who wrote about the living conditions in the camps. The metal collected by Webley at Botha's Post is similar to the metal excavated at Fort Double Drift. The surface collection included quantities of rusted metal, a nail assemblage, clothing and footwear accessories, ordnance (musket balls, gun flint and percussion caps), horseshoes and personal items including chains and musical instruments and a broken thimble, broken scissors and three possible 'Jew's harps'.

The Royal Engineers also constantly required supplies to maintain the infrastructure at Fort Double Drift and at other fortifications on the frontier. As with other military supplies these goods were requisitioned through a system of tenders. The iron nails and construction materials were utilised in both construction phases at Fort Double Drift. These materials were also brought into the fort for the purposes of maintenance and the daily activities of the workers and soldiers in the fort. The materials at Fort Double Drift came from Grahamstown.

The ordnance found at the fort is representative of the whole period of the forts occupation; from the creation of the fort till when the Cape Mounted Police used part of the fort in 1855. The military ordnance found at the site shows the precariousness of the fort's position on the frontier. The soldiers needed to be vigilant at this isolated location. Also, the soldiers were vulnerable when on patrol or protecting the convoy wagons.

The glass and metal excavated at Fort Double Drift reflect the material culture of the town as well as the provisions provided to the fort by the commissariat. The extra items found at the fort highlighted the personal preferences of the soldiers. The alcoholic and non-alcoholic bottles, that did not comply with rations, show the soldiers attempts to alleviate the boredom of duty on the frontier. This also shows an awareness on the part of the traders that the soldiers had disposable income to spend at the fortifications, and no chances to go into the town to spend it. Furthermore, the personal items excavated at the fort show that the soldiers were more than faceless members of their units. Fortifications had a role to play in the economy of the town and the Eastern Cape frontier.

6 CHAPTER 6: CROSS-SITE ANALYSIS BETWEEN HUNTLEY STREET, FARMERFIELD AND FORT DOUBLE DRIFT

While contextual and provenience issues have been discussed previously in the respective site chapters, it is necessary to reiterate some of these issues in this chapter. This is done to highlight how these limitations affected the analysis that could be completed at the three sites.

When I approached the Albany museum to utilise the artefacts from Jeppson's excavations for my research the boxes were not accompanied by a full set of supporting documentation. The only documentation available was a handwritten artefact inventory. This inventory was incomplete. While some of the glass and metal artefacts had been catalogued and numbered, the inventory was weighted in favour of the ceramics that Jeppson focused on in her research. In addition to this the field notebooks were also missing from the Albany Museum, further hampering the analysis (Lita Webley 2014: Personal Communication).

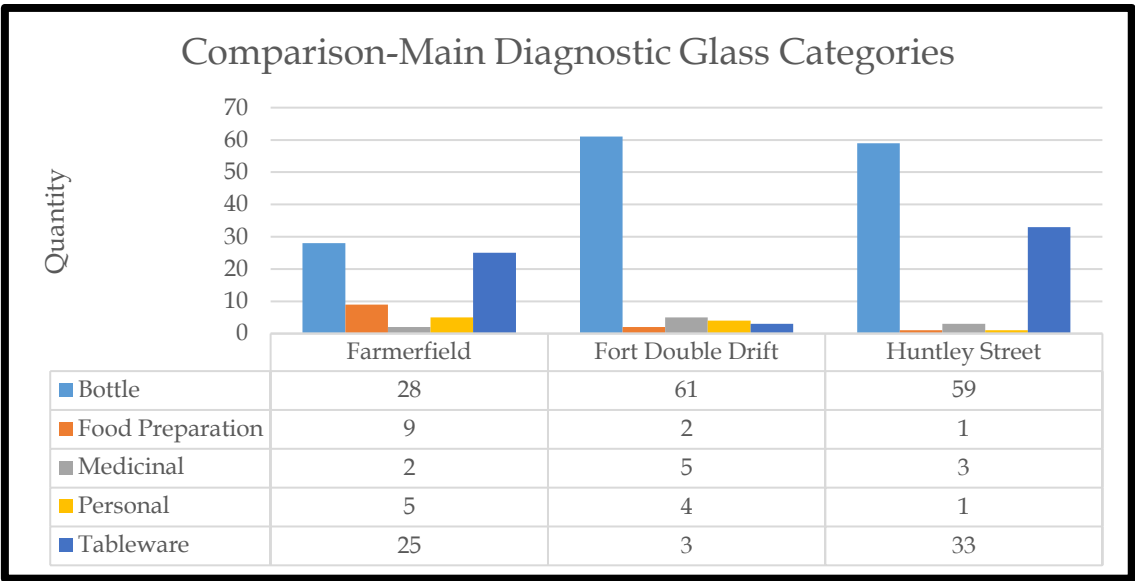
Drew (2004: 55) emphasized how important it is for the records that accompany an archaeological excavation to be intact. In a bid to shed light on the missing information the permit documents and feedback reports were sourced from SAHRA. While these documents provided a record of the conference papers that Jeppson had given about her research the missing information was not found in this documentation. One page of the permit application was also missing, and the exact locations of the excavations were not included in these documents.

Through correspondence with Jeppson I was able to obtain a complete set of the field notebooks for Fort Double Drift. These documents added information by providing a basic breakdown of the sizes of the middens. There were however only site diagrams for some of the excavations at the fort. Because of this there are still some discrepancies with the location and sizes of the excavations at the other two sites. At Huntley Street the size of one of the excavation units is unknown, while the depth of the excavations at Farmerfield are unknown.

Due to these factors there is a measure of uncertainty surrounding exactly how much soil was removed at each location. While the three previous chapters summarised the analysis for each site this chapter compares and contrasts the three sites to draw conclusions about the role of the glass and metal in trade in Grahamstown and the Eastern Cape. The chapter will first focus on the glass before drawing comparisons about the metal at the three sites.

Five categories of diagnostic glass were found at all three research sites in varying quantities: bottle glass (alcoholic and non-alcoholic), glass utilised in food preparation and storage, medicinal glass, formal and informal tableware and personal glass items. Bottle glass is the largest category found at all three sites. At Fort Double Drift and Huntley Street the relative proportions of bottle glass are much larger in comparison to the other four categories, while at Farmerfield the differences between the five categories are negligible (Figure 6.1).

Table 6.1: Comparison of Main Diagnostic Glass Categories at the Three Research Sites.



The large margins at Huntley Street reflect the imports that arrived in the town. Bottle glass and tableware featured prominently in the advertisements of the merchants. The large quantity of diagnostic fragments indicates that there may have been a surfeit of these items and the broken vessels could be discarded because replacement vessels were available for purchase. The margins at Fort Double Drift are indicative of rationing. The smaller margins between the artefact

categories at Farmerfield may highlight the access the hamlets had to a range of merchandise available in Salem and Grahamstown.

Alcoholic beverage glass is the largest bottle glass category excavated at the three sites. Significantly, as the merchandise in Grahamstown was focused towards the new population resident in the town, one of the first professions that the merchants adapted into a specialised role was that of a wine merchant. The high percentage of bottle glass in Huntley Street gives the assemblage a largely commercial appearance that is ideal for studying trade. At Huntley Street wine bottle glass is not the largest glass category. This is interesting as this glass category is the largest bottle assemblage at the other two sites. The largest number of diagnostic fragments are from case/ gin bottles (24%). Wine bottle glass is the second largest category (22%).

At Farmerfield the alcoholic bottle glass was found predominantly in two of the four hamlets: *Middel Plaas* and *Endulini*. Four predominant categories were found at *Middel Plaas*: wine, champagne, brandy and beer. This is a small number of categories when compared to the wide spectrum of merchandise on offer in Grahamstown. It was feasible to conclude that the conservative nature of this assemblage is directly related to the preferences of the family resident at *Middel Plaas*. It is also important to bear in mind how the religious convictions of the missionary would have affected the consumption of alcohol at the mission.

At *Endulini* beer, whiskey and brandy were the three main types of alcoholic beverage bottles found. While the two assemblages have two categories in common whiskey and champagne are unique to each of the hamlets. The sample size at *Endulini* is also smaller than the sample at *Middel Plaas*. Jeppson (2005) highlighted the fact that the residents at *Endulini* had close contact with Europeans. The absence of wine and champagne at this hamlet could possibly be related to cost or because the hamlet's residents were converts, and they associated wine with the Eucharist. A single alcoholic base fragment was found at *Elisutho* and no alcoholic beverage bottle glass was found at *Emakhobokeni*.

Alcoholic beverages formed a significant portion of the rations allocated to the military at each of the fortifications. This is borne out by the large alcoholic bottle glass assemblage found at Fort Double Drift (n=61). Three categories constitute 75% of the total diagnostic glass excavated at the site: wine (36%), case gin (20%) and champagne (19%). The two middens yielded a large percentage of this assemblage. The diagnostic glass from the small midden was identified as champagne, wine, whiskey, brandy, beer and stout. At the large midden eight different categories were identified: champagne, wine, spirits, whiskey, beer, ale, brandy, stout and porter.

Diagnostic case gin bottle glass was found at Fort Double Drift and Huntley Street. No diagnostic case gin glass was found at Farmerfield. These bottles were designed to fit into specially constructed boxes. The sturdy box held 12 bottles and minimised breakage. Therefore, transporting these bottles was not a deterrent and the absence of this glass at Farmerfield could be related to personal preference.

Non-alcoholic beverage bottles were found at Farmerfield and Huntley Street. The sample size at Farmerfield is small (n=2). A total of 38 diagnostic fragments was found at Huntley Street. This hamlet also yielded the largest quantity of aqua/clear glass fragments (n=244), the glass colour utilised to manufacture carbonated beverage bottles. The large difference between the two hamlets highlights the fact that there were soda water and carbonated beverage manufacturers in Grahamstown. These manufacturers also supplied their own bottles.

The medicinal glass assemblage at all three of the sites is small. The fragments are however representative of several different types of medication. The wide bore of the bottle found at Fort Double Drift is indicative of a container that would have held medicine in a powder form. This type of medicine could be dispensed to a large group of people. At *Middel Plaas* the bottle base with dosage lines is the only medicinal glass fragment that can hold a large volume of liquid. At Farmerfield and Huntley Street the small homeopathic vials held measured doses of prepared medicines. These were administered as a single dose or taken as a few drops daily.

A single Dutch bitters bottle finish was found at the fort. This fragment highlights a household remedy that the Boers used to treat illness. This appears to indicate that Grahamstown utilised both prescription medicine and tinctures prepared by the pharmacy and traders.

The majority of the tableware and dessert vessels were found at Farmerfield and Huntley Street. These differences highlight the act of dining that is visible at each of the three sites. The tablewares found at three of the four hamlets are very different. *Elisutho* has a glass with acid etching on the body of the glass (in concentric circles), a glass stopper and a glass fragment with a floral pattern. *Endulini* and *Middel Plaas* have serving vessels and candlesticks. *Middel Plaas* also has dessert vessels and decanter fragments. Huntley Street has tumbler fragments, stem fragments, dessert vessels and serving vessels. At Fort Double Drift frosted glass fragments from a vase and two stem fragments were found.

The large assemblage of tableware found at *Elisutho* may indicate that the purchases were the personal choices of the tenants and not glass vessels passed on to the tenants by the Europeans. This is consistent with Jeppson's (2005) observations that the ceramics found at this hamlet were indicative of a group of people involved in the market economy. This is also borne out by the fact there is a large assemblage of food preparation vessels in this hamlet. Aside from the sauce bottle found at the Stoney Hill Xhosa hamlet, a coconut oil bottle or sweet oil bottles and French mustard jar fragments was excavated at *Elisutho*.

The small sizes of the window glass assemblages make it difficult to establish how the glass was used at each site. The uniform nature of the glass fragments may however show intentional cutting. This appears to indicate that the glass was cut on site to fit into the window frames inserted into the homes of the town. The fact that window glass is present at each site shows that glass panes could be successfully transported all the way to the frontier.

Brown (1971: 128-129) observed this at Fort Michilimackinac. A large quantity of fragments was found that showed evidence of scoring and purposeful breaks

along the scored line. The group of fragments were also consistent in size. Brown felt that this may be evidence of the fact that the panes were modified to fit the existing windows at the fortification. Also, although the fragments were found in consistent sizes, there is evidence that some fragments were oxidised while others were free of oxidation. This showed that although the panes were modified there were differences visible in the way the glass was manufactured and the purity of the materials that this manufacturing process produced.

Window glass is common in Grahamstown. It appears in the advertisements for the consumers and for the military. The town even received glass in different colours for stained glass windows in the churches. Also, as seen above the glass was advertised in sizes that were familiar to the British. The rectangular window frames at Farmerfield and Huntley Street could have a maximum of 12 smaller panes. It is unlikely that the windows at the fort would have been of a similar size. Even though the military ordered specific pane sizes the window glass used at Fort Double Drift would have been altered to fit the irregular configuration of the windows at the fort.

The glass colours are congruent at all the sites. While this is commensurate with the early 19th century manufacturing techniques, the glass colours could also indicate that the assemblage was composed of a limited typology. Also, although Huntley Street is the control sample for the three sites, Farmerfield has the largest variety of glass colours. This colour range may be a clearer indication of exactly how much glass was available than the assemblage at Huntley Street. The delicate glass is still visible at Farmerfield while this glass is missing at the location in Huntley Street (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Undiagnostic Glass Found at Three Research Sites.

All Locations	Farmerfield		Fort Double Drift		Huntley Street	
	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)	Undiagnostic Sherd Total	Undiagnostic Sherd Weight (g)
BOTTLE GLASS						
Aqua/Clear	93	316.04	72	188.27	244	1127.86
Black	48	428.75	292	2303.04	42	386.21
Blue	57	118.66	0	0.00	7	24.05
Brown	22	59.37	0	0.00	2	12.21
Clear (Including Modern Glass)	153	305.48	90	309.93	162	393.16
Dark Green (Including Flat Glass)	179	773.72	782	2138.67	693	3733.22
Light Green (Including Evergreen*)	32	147.43	108	327.76	18	148.00
Olive	37	190.28	208	1065.64	50	343.55
Pink	13	29.77	11	29.39	2	2.57
Red	1	2.88	0	0.00	0	0.00
Window Glass	243	249.76	196	216.14	105	172.21
TOTAL	878	2622.14	1759	6578.84	1349	6459.96

The metal found at the three sites also had several categories in common. The personal items found at Farmerfield include jewellery (a British penny, a small bracelet and a small filigree item) and stationery items. The tack, rectangular paper fastener and scissors were found at *Elisutho*. These represent a form of record keeping at the mission. A part of a harmonica was also found at *Emakhobokeni*.

Clothing accessories were found in three of the four hamlets. The accessories are representative of the clothing introduced into the mission (Table 6.3). The largest quantity of clothing accessories found at the mission are metal buttons. Like the clothing fasteners, the buttons are also representative of the European clothing introduced at the site. The buttons served a dual role at the missions and were also traded. At Fort Double Drift a small personal assemblage was found. This includes a knife handle engraved with the unit number of a regiment and the surname of the owner (O'Donnell), an engraved metal piece and a monocle (Table 6.4).

Table 6.3: Personal Clothing Items at all Three Sites.

	Double Drift (Qty)	Farmerfield (Qty)	Huntley Street (Qty)
Clothing Items:			
Buckles	7	2	1
Buttons	22	16	2
Buttons (Regimental)	10	0	0
Hooks/Clasps	3	1	0
Studs	1	0	0
Fasteners	5	1	0
Press Studs	0	1	0
Shoe Fragments:			
Boot Plates	1	0	0
Shoe Taps	2	0	0
Shoe Lace Eyes	3	0	0
Heel	1	0	0
Total	55	21	3

Table 6.4: Personal Items and Cutlery at all Three Sites.

	Farmerfield (Qty)	Double Drift (Qty)	Huntley Street (Qty)
Personal Items			
Chains	0	0	1
Badge	1	0	0
Bracelets	2	0	0
Pendants	0	1	0
Jews Harp	0	2	0
Harmonica	1	0	0
Snuff Box	3	1	0
Pipe Cover	1	0	0
Pen Knife	0	0	1
Tableware			
Knife Handles	1	2	0
Knife Blades	1	4	0
Spoons	3	3	3
Cutlery Handles	2	0	0
Total	15	13	5

The buttons found at the fort are split into two categories: regimental and utilitarian. The soldiers at the fort replaced lost regimental buttons with utilitarian buttons. Apart from four buttons the entire utilitarian button assemblage was found in the large midden. This may be indicative of the fact that the lost buttons were cleared from the inside of the fort when the interior of the fort was

maintained. Another possible reason for the fact that the buttons were found outside the fort is that they were lost while the soldiers were on patrol.

The household items summarised in Table 6.5 highlights another personal category. At Huntley Street the household contents provide a lens to look inside the walls of the imposing architecture structures in the town while at the fort these items provide individuality to the soldiers. The items highlight aspects of their personalities that cannot be hidden by their official uniforms. As stated above it is not possible to determine which of these items was officially issued by the army and which items were brought by the soldiers.

Table 6.5: Household and Business Items Found at the Three Sites.

	Double Drift (Qty)	Farmerfield (Qty)	Huntley Street (Qty)
Household Items:			
Lamp Base	1	0	0
Lamp Wick	0	1	0
Lamp Handle	0	1	0
Latch	1	0	0
Handle	2	1	0
Hinges	2	0	0
Picture Hooks	0	2	1
Keyhole Decoration	0	1	0
Scissors	0	1	0
Tacks	0	2	0
Rake	0	0	1
Total	6	9	2

Table 6.6: Ordnance Found at the Three Sites.

	Double Drift (Qty)	Farmerfield (Qty)	Huntley Street (Qty)
Munitions			
Percussion Caps	15	0	0
Spent Shot	2	0	1
Gun Flint	4	4	1
Total	21	4	2

Table 6.6 summarises the ordnance found at the three sites. The assemblage found at Huntley Street also yielded modern munitions that were excluded from the analysis. No percussion caps were found at Huntley Street. This is unusual as the town was affected by the frontier wars and would have required protection. The

two ordnance types found have much older histories and were phased out of use. This could indicate that there were a lot of older weapons in the town. These weapons were utilised on the frontier prior to the second British occupation.

Flint is the only category of ordnance found at Farmerfield. The hypothesis was that the missionary would discourage the tenants at the mission from owning weapons. However, in Figure 1.8 above it becomes evident that the tenants at the mission were accustomed to protecting themselves. The flint may indicate that the residents at the mission only had access to older weapons.

Fort Double Drift has the largest munitions assemblage. The soldiers required this level of protection, especially as the fort was located on an isolated frontier. The size of the assemblages is however not commensurate with the complement of staff stationed at the fort. A possible reason for this could be because the fort was not involved in the active protection of the frontier the stock of munitions was kept at a minimum. The military may have relied on the imposing picture that the fort projected. The solid structure located close to the river bank would have been a formidable sight to people approaching the river crossing.

The final metal category present at all three sites is construction items. These items lend a level of conformity to the three sites. The town grew and developed after its establishment in 1812. The fort was maintained daily and the mission station developed as traditional houses were replaced by rectangular structures. The construction items and maintenance items are signs of progress and prosperity (Table 6.7 & Table 6.8).

Table 6.7: Construction and Maintenance Items at the Three Sites.

	Double Drift (Qty)	Farmerfield (Qty)	Huntley Street (Qty)
Construction/Maintenance:			
Wire	24	19	17
Washers	0	2	4
Zinc	4	0	1
Storage/Distribution Items:			
Tins/Pails/Cans Fragments	53	8	0
Barrel Hoops			
Total	81	29	22

Table 6.8: The Nails Excavated at the Three Sites.

Nail Type	Farmerfield	Fort Double Drift	Huntley Street
	Qty	Qty	Qty
Bolts	1	3	0
Butterfly	0	9	0
L-Shaped (Cut)	1	10	0
L-Shaped (Wrought)	0	2	0
Modern	1	1	
Nuts	0	1	1
Rectangular	1	0	1
Rosehead (Cut)	6	45	2
Rosehead (Wrought)	0	0	1
Round, Wide Nail	1	0	
Round Headed (Including Modern)	21	0	
Screws	5	9	1
Spikes	0	0	0
Square Nails	1	23	4
Tacks/Sprigs/Brags	0	13	2
T-Shaped (Cut)	9	137	1
T-Shaped (Wrought)	0	0	1
Wagon Bolt	1	0	
Wire Nail	1	63	1
Unidentified	0	0	9
Undiagnostic	66	148	70
Total Nails	115	464	93

While the rectangular structures and the architecture of Grahamstown and Farmerfield represented the outward signs of conformity, and the fortifications represented the control the British military sought to impose, the glass and metal found at the sites highlight the small acts of defiance and identity that the people in Grahamstown used to cope. These materials were utilised to raise the standing of the population and increased their prosperity at all three research sites.

7 CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

While the focus of this research is trade, and we can trace the arrival of the produce to the Cape and Port Elizabeth, the first point at which it comes into the hands of the consumers is when it reaches the town. This is where the people make active choices to purchase or trade for what they need to survive. By studying these transactions from this perspective, the view that trade only benefited the Europeans was negated. The people behind the transaction become visible as they utilised these items to adapt to the changing conditions in the Cape Colony and the Eastern Cape in the early 19th century.

Although Grahamstown was central to the trade network between the coast and the interior the research never lost sight of the fact that the town was a quintessential Settler town. The history of this group, and its impact on the history of the Eastern Cape, was borne in mind when the material at the town was analysed. The isolation of the Albany district and the strength of the transport system were also utilised as mitigating factors in the analysis completed at Huntley Street. Apart from this it was recognised that all the merchandise coming from the coast would have remained in the town for a least a short period of time before being distributed further or purchased for either private or commercial use.

The artefacts excavated at Huntley Street mirrored the advertisements in *The Graham's Town Journal*. The merchants in Grahamstown were prolific advertisers and promoters of their stores. The newspaper provided a record of all the glass and metal sold in Grahamstown between the newspapers inception in 1831 and the end of the research period in 1860.

The analysis shows that the advertisements highlighted trends in the glass found in the town. Certain brands of alcoholic beverages were ordered over the entire period under study, e.g. Hennessy's Pale Ale or Worthington and Robertson's Pale Ale. Delicate glass was also deemed important enough to advertise as drawing cards for prospective buyers. These factors were evident even though the

volume of glass bottles ordered by Grahamstown merchants had decreased substantially by the 1850s.

The significance of the glass artefacts also varied exponentially in the town. Initially glass formed part of the mixed inventory carried by the general dealers. These first orders were definitive as the inventory carried by the newly established stores in Grahamstown catered to a population that was trying to develop the infrastructure in the town.

After 1830 the dealers started to specialise in certain products and services. This new level of specialisation is particularly visible when analysing the glass that was brought to the town from the Cape Colony. Wine merchants, like W. Kidson and Mandy & Co, advertised extensive stocks of alcoholic beverages. Soda water and carbonated beverages were sold by beverages manufacturers, like Robert Read and W.J. Earle.

In contrast to the glass the metal was not utilised exclusively as a consumer product. The advertisements for metal products and metal professions were also not as prolific as those placed for glass. Metal was rarely advertised in its raw form. The advertisements for metal were interspersed with other items and the metal often appeared as incidental entries at the bottom of extensive lists of items. The analysis also showed that construction materials were ordered extensively between 1820 and 1840 and these figures declined during the second 20 years between 1840 and 1860.

The distribution of merchandise in the Eastern Cape can be conclusively tied back to the vessels that docked in Cape Town and in Port Elizabeth. Furthermore, the analysis showed that the arrival times of the vessels could be determined from *Shipping Intelligence* reports, and that when these dates were coupled with the advertisements that included the vessels names, it was possible to track when a vessel docked and then to work out exactly how long it took for the merchandise to travel from the coast to the town.

It is not possible to establish whether there is a surplus or dearth of certain items in the Huntley Street assemblage. This is particularly problematic with the state of preservation of the metal assemblage. Certain conclusions can however be extrapolated from the glass found at Huntley Street. The largest categories of glass that were identified were bottle glass and tableware. It is significant to note that these two items featured prolifically in the advertisements for the town. It is feasible that there was sufficient stock on hand in the town to ensure that the two glass categories were visible in the assemblage despite the evidence of reuse also visible in the town's newspaper.

The cost of the metal products on offer in the stores in Grahamstown could not be determined. Also, in an analysis of 29 years of *The Graham's Town Journal*, only three advertisements highlight the cost of either glass bottles or perfumery. The only other costs visible that relate to glass were prices the merchants were prepared to pay for empty bottles.

At Farmerfield the analysis was aided by the rich documentary record associated with the mission station. The Wesleyan church kept ledgers with the projected budgets for the Salem and Farmerfield circuit. An itemised budget was found for each congregation for every year. Some of the expenditure is noted in these books but there is no marked difference in the budgets from year to year. Because of this it is not possible to establish whether the budgets were sufficient to fulfil the needs of the mission station. Also, any additional income made by each congregation, often in the form of trade or barter, is not recorded in these official ledgers.

Researchers, such as Bundy (1979), have highlighted the fact that missionaries traded to supplement the meagre income they received from their parent churches and to keep their stations functional. Missionaries working on the frontiers were also labelled as reluctant traders (Brown 1994; Du Plessis 1965). These factors appear to be absent at Farmerfield. The tenants at Farmerfield were actively involved in the economy of the town and this negated the missionary exercising

control over all trade at the mission. This was vastly different to the level of control the missionary exercised over trade at mission stations on the frontier.

Also, although the structured layout of the mission could be described as the actions of “passive cultural pawns” (Gardner 2008), the material culture at the mission station reflects the fact that the tenants were able to balance religious instruction with adaptation to the new environment and incorporation into the economy of the town. The congregants actively sought residence at this Wesleyan mission. The living arrangements available to the congregants were not afforded to indigenous groups at any other place in the Eastern Cape in the early 19th century.

Because of this the mission station was extensively studied and contrasted to mission stations located in the interior and on the frontier. The mission was not isolated, and the tenants maintained a level of self-sufficiency and economic independence because of their own farming and the work they undertook on neighbouring farms for wages (Jeppson 2005; Vernal 2009).

The population of the mission also became part of the town as traders and consumers. Due to this the tenants at Farmerfield cannot be classified as a stereotypical group of people who chose to live on the mission station because they had no other choices. While previous mission inhabitants were often described as refugees seeking asylum from their own groups, the congregants at Farmerfield had actively engaged with their minister to find a way to have access to both land and pasturage.

It is unclear how often the residents of the mission left the station to go to the towns. It is also unclear if any of the merchandise on the mission was traded with the tenants *in lieu* of the produce they sold. As the prosperity of the mission tenants increased the converts could enter the trade network. The disposable income was utilised by the tenants to purchase wagons and to increase the size of their cattle herds, effectively establishing the mission residents as consumers, wagon drivers and traders.

The assemblages excavated at the different hamlets highlight the diverse population resident on the mission. The artefacts excavated at *Middel Plaas* were used to compare and contrast this assemblage to the other hamlets. The assemblage at *Middel Plaas* also served as a control sample for the whole mission. As this hamlet served as the official residence for the missionary, his family and other European residents, the artefacts highlighted the purchasing power of the Europeans and the items the missionary brought with him to Africa.

While the hamlets were initially divided based on cultural differences, the economic divisions between the hamlets were reflected in the assemblages excavated at each location. The assemblages were also influenced by the secluded nature of the hamlets, their distances from *Middel Plaas* and the church, and the direct influence of the missionary e.g. *Elisutho* starkly contrasts to the assemblages at the other three hamlets. Although the assemblage relates to a single household, the dearth of alcoholic beverage bottles and the large assemblage of tableware are different from the other hamlets.

The research completed at Fort Double Drift highlighted the fact that the fort was not an isolated post. This British fortification formed part of a specific line of fortifications (Fort Double Drift being part of the Lewis Line of fortifications erected after the Frontier War of 1834-1835). Because of this the forts formed an impromptu landmark for the community to rally around and a military presence to avoid. Therefore, although they were visible, the fort could also be viewed as an insulated community.

In the Eastern Cape the surviving British fortifications are now situated in the national parks. These 'remnants' of the Frontier Wars in the Eastern Cape are negatively perceived in the current political climate as they are viewed as perpetuating the history of the British occupation of the Cape (and by extension the Eastern frontier of South Africa). The structures are maintained by the Parks board and small local groups with a vested interest in their preservation.

Also, through the conflicting viewpoints of historians and archaeologists, the soldier has taken on the role of both hero and villain in the scenario. The material culture found at fortifications like Fort Double Drift mediate this viewpoint and looks at the soldiers as not just “transplants” to the frontier for short periods of time but as people who were able to incorporate frontier life into their own daily routines. Furthermore, although the forts may have been built by the British, the troops stationed at the fort were not only British. The Cape Mounted Rifles and Khoekhoe auxiliary troops were also stationed at the frontier forts.

When fortifications like Fort Double Drift, and the rest of the forts in the Lewis line, were changed to permanent brick and mortar construction it hastened the decline of the military’s control over the frontier. As the frontier shifted these fortifications were now located in a veritable no-man’s land, away from the points of conflict and away from the frontier.

The expenditure was too great to build new fortifications or to expand on the number already built so these buildings became obsolete. This exacerbated the situation on the frontier and this inherent vulnerability is reflected in the material culture found at the fortification. The portable nature of the artefacts found at Fort Double Drift is juxtaposed with the fact that the fort was located at a strategic position along the river and important trade routes. The fort also remained in contact with the people moving along this road to the interior and back to the town.

While it is not possible to differentiate between the items used by the officers and the men, and those utilised by the enlisted men, there were items at the fort that did not formally comply with the official rations allocated by the military to the soldiers stationed at the fort. Also, while it was impossible to detect the differences in material culture of the different garrisons stationed at the fortification, it was possible to look at “how and when these items were utilised” and “whether they were privately owned or supplied by the military (Jones & Smith 1985: 5-6).

The glass found at Fort Double Drift can provide information on diet, recreational habits, health habits and military rationing. This is because alcohol formed a large part of the rations provided to the soldiers. The glass also offered the best way to highlight trade at the fort. Even though the glass found at the fort was consistent with the rations described by Scott (1973), additional categories of glass were also found. These indicate the fact that the soldiers were in contact with people outside the fort, presumably for trade.

Due to the dearth of excavations completed inside the fort it is impossible to determine whether the soldiers kept these items in their barracks or whether there was a known location to store contraband items. Three personal fragments were also found, two stem fragments and a vase fragment. These items highlight possible evidence of formal dining at the fortification. In contrast to the commercial nature of the glass, the metal artefacts at the fort include personal items; personalised cutlery, a part of a snuff box and musical instruments. While the glass was directly correlated to rationing the metal at the site provided information of the personal items belonging to the troops.

Evidence of cost cutting and tighter controls at Fort Double Drift, and other fortifications, are visible in the tender advertisements in *The Graham's Town Journal*. More importantly there is no evidence that the military increased the number of tenders to provide extra supplies to the various fortifications during the Frontier wars.

The research completed at three vastly different sites highlights the fact that historical archaeology can study trade and the economy without only focusing on capitalism or restricting the investigation to the role played by Europeans in southern Africa. Trade was utilised by all the population groups in the Eastern Cape. Each group realised the importance of capitalizing on the opportunities that the newly imported produce offered.

7.1. THE CONTRIBUTION THIS RESEARCH MAKES TO HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Historical archaeology, as a discipline, has the potential to play an important part in the archaeological research completed in South Africa. This research can help to rewrite a more balanced and inclusive history of our country. Historical research in the Eastern Cape needs to be developed. The body of work highlighted in this research was completed by American researchers. This group has laid a solid foundation from South African researchers to expand upon the historical archaeology of the Eastern Cape.

With a view towards filling this void this research project was based in the Eastern Cape. The work focused on an existing museum collection. By doing this, much needed research was completed on a collection of artefacts that had been in storage since the completion of the excavations in the late 1980s. The research was also kept within the same time frame utilised by the original researchers to enable this work to be compatible with the existing body of work completed in the Eastern Cape.

Museum collections form a permanent reserve of information and artefacts for study by future generations (Ambrose & Payne 2012: 304). The quantity of collections in storage has increased exponentially with the increase in contract work and associated research projects. These “curated collections” (Barker 2003: 71) have the potential to supplement the research in the geographical areas where the museums are located.

The lack of context and provenience for this collection is also an indictment of the situation in South African museums. South African museums have many collections in boxes that are in dire need of correct curation and research. The museums are hampered from effectively managing the collections in storage by financial, administrative and staffing issues. They have been forced to accomplish more with fewer staff and diminished resources.

Museum collections offer a unique way to further research without the added expenditure of extensive excavation. Furthermore, the lack of financial resources in the museum sector can be counterbalanced by archaeological students utilising these collections for their Honours or Master's projects. Even if research is completed only on certain parts of the existing collections this is still substantially more work than is currently being completed.

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PRIMARY RESOURCES

ALBANY MUSEUM

Graham's Town from the Selwyn Battery, January 17, 1850. Painting by Thomas Baines.

CAPE ARCHIVES (CAPE TOWN)

KAB:

CO 48/149-Selwyn's report on the Return of New Works Projected and Under Construction for the Eastern Frontier.

CO 3931/218-Memorials Received: Adriaan Vermaak and 17 Other Traders of the District of Albany, Stating Hardships of their Situation and Requesting Relief in that Regard.

CO 3982/205-Memorials Received: William Edward Smith: Licence to sell wine and spirits at Fort Willshire.

CHIEF DIRECTOR OF SURVEYS AND MAPPING (CAPE TOWN)

3326B Grahamstown Quadrant Map.

3326BB Breakfast Vlei Map.

CORY LIBRARY

Captain A.G. Bain's 1836 Journal, 1102.

Memorandum Regarding the Management of Mission Schools, MS 15.356.

Minutes Books for the Albany District 1840, MS 15.023/2.

Minutes Book for the Albany District, 1848, MS 15.023/3.

Plan of Grahamstown in 1820, MP 3739.

Plan of the City of Grahamstown, MP 754.

Photographs taken by R Rainer at Fort Double Drift in July 1975, MS 6256, B50/11.

Site of Double Drift-War Department, 291 Acres 2 Roods 24 Poles, MP325 S757F1.

Sketch of the Post, Showing the Reserved Ground of 600 Yards Proposed to be

transferred to the Ordnance, S/757/F.
Wesleyan Mission Notices for 1847.

CULTURAL HISTORY MUSEUM

Mr Hume's Waggon (sic) of Ivory and Skins from the Interior of Africa on Market
Square Graham's Town South Africa (Painting by Thomas Baines 1850).
Street Scene in Graham's Town (Painting by Thomas Baines 1850).

APPENDIX A: LINES OF FORTIFICATIONS IN THE EASTERN FRONTIER

Professor Colin Coetzee's (1994) book, *Forts of the Eastern Cape Securing a Frontier 1799-1878*, provides a record of all the fortifications built in the Eastern Cape. A summary of the various fronts and lines are listed below.

THE "ADELAIDE" FORTS AT THE FRONT (COETZEE 1994: 194-214)

- Wardens Post
- Fort Wellington
- Fort Hill
- Hardinge and Beresford/Fort Beresford
- Fort Murray
- Fort White
- Fort Cox
- Fort Waterloo
- Smith's Tower

POSTS IN THE REAR (COETZEE 1994: 215-225)

- Fort Thomson
- Fort Montgomery-Williams
- Fort Peddie
- Line Drift Fort

THE WINTERBERG-INDIAN OCEAN LINE OF FORTS

a) LEFT OF THE LINE (COETZEE 1994: 229-253)

- Post Retief
- The Hans Erasmus Post
- Fort Armstrong
- The Elands River and Mankazana Posts
- The Blinkwater Post
- Fort Beaufort

- Howse's Post
- Doris Botha's or Botha's Post

b) ON THE FISH RIVER LINE (COETZEE 1994: 253-283)

- Double Drift Fort
- Fort Brown
- Koonap Post or Tomlinson's
- Committee's Drift Post
- Trompetter's Drift Post
- Cawood's Post

c) BEHIND THE FISH RIVER LINE (COETZEE 1994: 287-296)

- Fraser's Camp
- Bathurst

APPENDIX B: GRAHAMSTOWN OCCUPATIONS FOR 1842 AND 1853

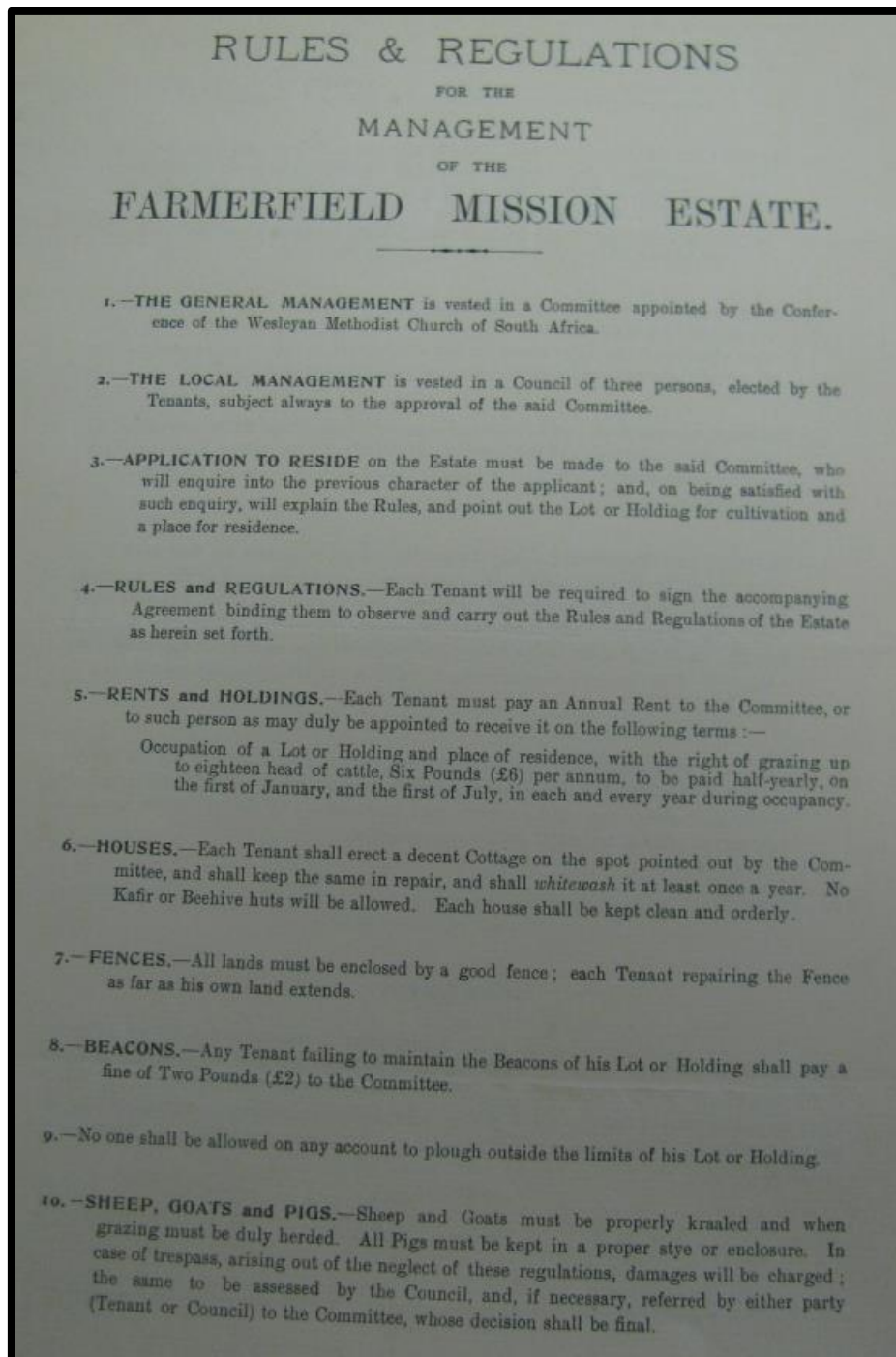
Scott's (1987: 46; Volume 2) research included a complete breakdown of the occupations of the inhabitants of Grahamstown in 1842 and 1853. In the table below the list is edited to include only the professions that worked with glass or metal.

Table B.1: Occupation Structure of Householders, Grahamstown 1842 & 1853 (Booth's Classification of Industrial Occupation Groups 1841-1891).

<u>Designation</u>	<u>1842 Totals</u>	<u>1853 Totals</u>
<u>Wine, Spirits, Hotels</u> <u>(D7)</u>		
Canteen Keepers	7	4
Hotel Keepers	3	9
Innkeepers	0	5
Wine & Spirit Merchants	3	2
<u>General Dealers</u>		
Dealers	2	1
Shopkeepers (Undefined)	29	40
Shopmen	2	1
Storekeepers (Undefined)	23	5
Storemen	0	17
Traders	2	4
Warehousemen	1	0
<u>Unspecified</u>		
Agents	9	5
Auctioneers	2	2
Brokers	1	0
Collectors	0	4
Merchants	18	23
Salesmen	0	4

APPENDIX C: COPY OF FARMERFIELD RESIDENCE APPLICATION-EARLY 1900'S

Figure C1 is an example of the Farmerfield Tenant Agreement (Cory Library MS 15.356) signed by all the tenants that came to live at Farmerfield. While these agreements date from the early 20th century they still reflect the rules that the mission implement during the time of its operation.



11.—**IMPOUNDING.**—No Tenant is allowed to send his neighbour's Cattle to the Pound, but the damage shall be at once assessed by the Council. If the owner does not pay, the Council shall have the power to send the Cattle to the Pound.

N.B.—No member of the Council must act in any case in which he is personally interested either as occupier of the Land or as owner of the Cattle.

12.—**DIPPING OF CATTLE.**—All Cattle on the Estate must be dipped every Two Weeks, on the day arranged by the appointed Overseer, and all owners must bring their Cattle to be dipped on the day so arranged. Dipping Fees, at the rate fixed by the Committee, must be paid whether the Cattle are dipped or not.

N.B.—The Committee, Councillors and Overseer shall not be held responsible for any loss of stock which may take place through dipping.

13.—**ROADS and PUBLIC WORKS.**—The Committee and Council shall decide on the necessary repair of the Roads and other Public Works. A Week's notice will be given, when every able-bodied man must attend, or find a substitute, or otherwise pay one shilling per day until the work be completed; such money to be spent on Public Work.

14.—**CHURCH and SCHOOL.**—All Tenants are expected to attend the Public services of the Church, and to send their children regularly to the School. Day School Fees, at the rate fixed by the Committee, must be paid by each Tenant whether he has any children attending the School or not.

15.—**DISPOSAL OF PROPERTY.**—Any Tenant who is not in arrears for Rent shall be at liberty to sell his House, Trees and standing Crops to anyone approved by the Committee; but if any Tenant be dismissed from the Station for bad conduct he shall forfeit all right to such property, which shall be sold, and the proceeds applied first to the payment of Rent due, and the surplus spent on the Station for the public good, except that the value of the Crops sold, if the Rent can be otherwise paid, shall be handed to the dismissed Tenant or to his family.

16.—Any Tenant being guilty of bad conduct, or failing to pay his Rent, or violating any of these Rules and Regulations, or such other as may from time to time be passed by the Committee for the good government of the Station, may be dismissed by the Committee from his holding and place of residence, without compensation.

17.—Each Tenant to be supplied with a copy of these Rules and Regulations, and to sign another copy which shall be lodged with the Committee of Management.

AGREEMENT.

I.....hereby agree to observe and carry out, in every detail, the Rules and Regulations of the Farmfield Mission Estate, as herein set forth, and to abide by the decisions of the Committee and Council with respect to School Fees and Dipping Fees and Fines for the Trespass of Cattle. And I further undertake to pay the sum of Six Pounds (£6) as Rent for the right of remaining on the Estate, in two half-yearly instalments as in Clause 5 provided.

Signature.....

Henry Boulla

Witness.....

W. J. Jeffery

Date.....

August 1920.

Figure C.1: Farmerfield Residence Application.

APPENDIX D: BOTTLE NOMENCLATURE

For consistency all the bottle nomenclature in my research has been taken from the bottle anatomy outlined in *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary*. While some authors include the entire neck above the shoulder as part of the finish (Ketchum 1975; White 1978: 62), in this research all glass bottle finishes are defined as including the “lip, string rim and bore” (Jones 1986: 33). During the research period under study, 1820 to 1860, hand wrought glass manufacturing processes were prevalent. In this process the neck of the bottle was completed first. The top of the neck was then reheated to complete the finish. Consequently, it is not included as part of the finish (Toulouse 1969b; Jones et al 1989; Fike 1998; Lindsey 2009).

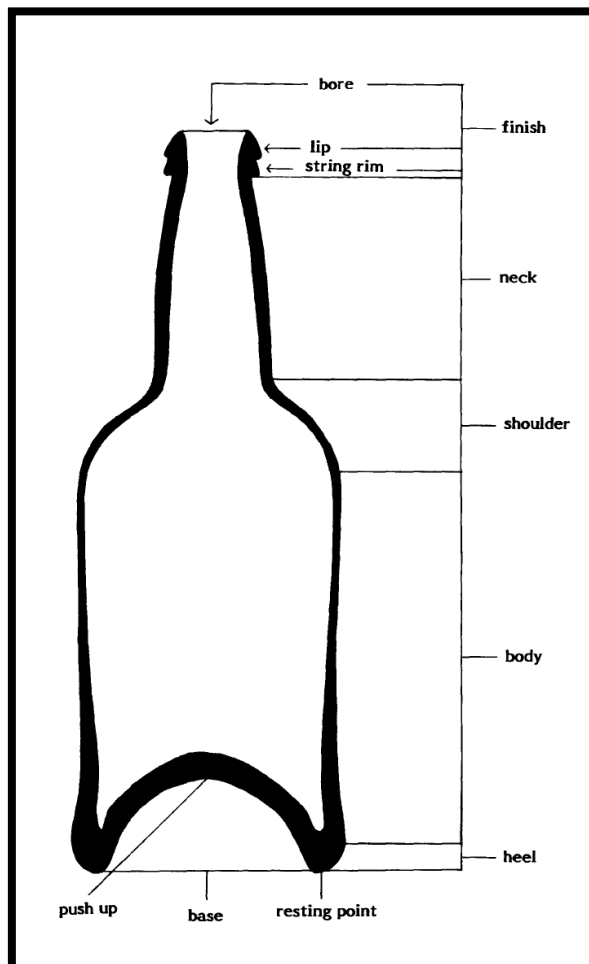


Figure D.1: Bottle Anatomy (Jones et al 1989: 77).

APPENDIX E: NAIL NOMENCLATURE

The nail nomenclature utilised in my research is attached below. These definitions come from the article by Tom Wells entitled *Nail Chronology: The Use of Technologically Derived Features*.

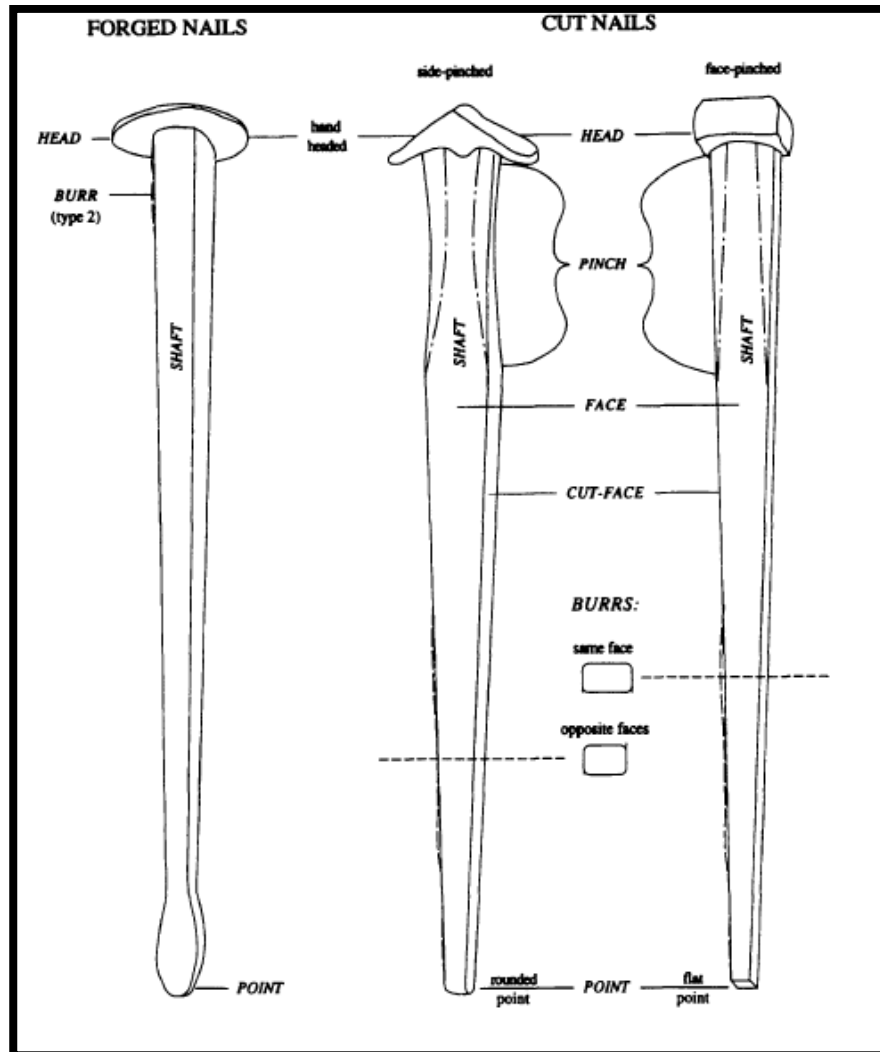



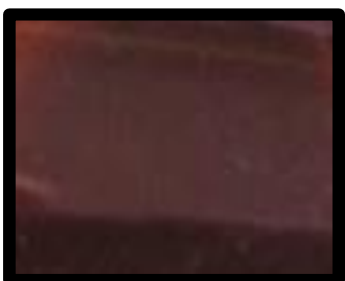





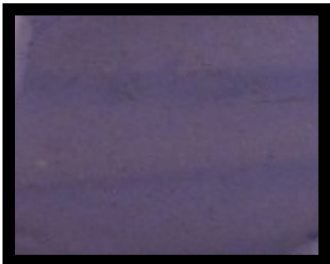








Figure E.1: Nail Nomenclature (Wells 1998: 83).






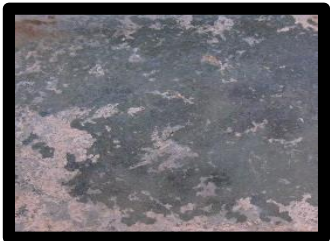
APPENDIX F: MUNSELLED GLASS COLOURS



Table F.1: Table of Glass Colours with Munsell Chart Hue and Chroma Colours (#Colours Munselled from Photographs).

Photograph	Glass Colour	Hue	Value/Chroma
	Brown	7.5 YR	4/8
	Dark Brown	8.2 YR	4/8
	Red Brown	7.5 YR	5/10
	Red Brown	10 R	2/6
	Red Glass	7.5 R	3/12


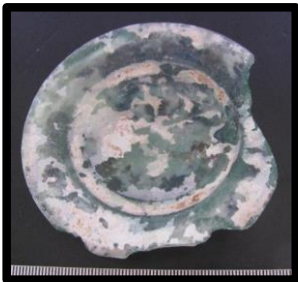
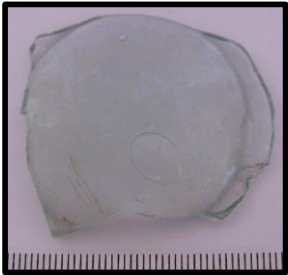


<u>Photograph</u>	<u>Glass Colour</u>	<u>Hue</u>	<u>Value/Chroma</u>
	Pink Glass	2.5 P	9/2
	Light Pink	7.5 P	9/2
	Light Pink	10P OR	9/2 P-RP
	Pink	5RP	8/4
	Manganese	2.5P	4/4

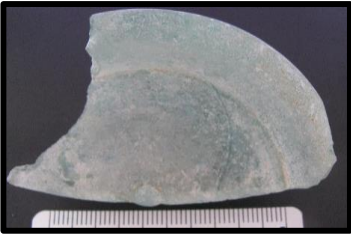


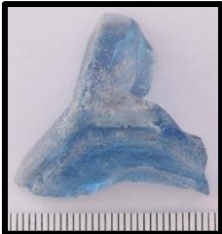
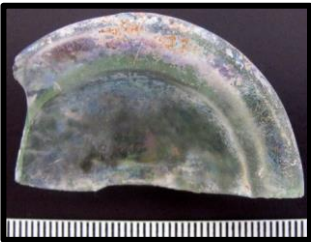
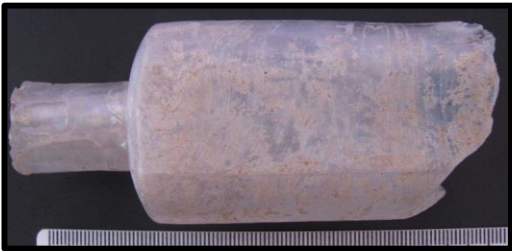
Photograph	Glass Colour	Hue	Value/Chroma
	Blue #	10B	5/12
	Aquamarine Blue	7.5B	6/6
	Light Blue	2.5B	7/6
	Light Blue	5B	8/2
	Light Blue	10BG 7.5 BG	9/2 9/2
	Light Green	7.5G	8/4

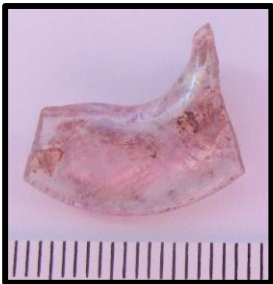
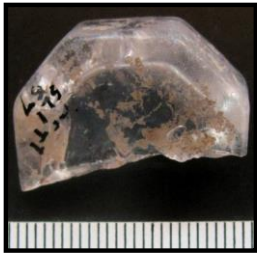

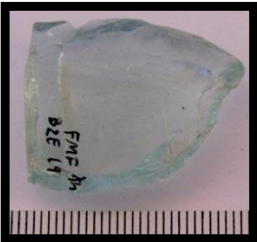
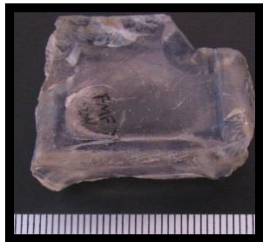

<u>Photograph</u>	<u>Glass Colour</u>	<u>Hue</u>	<u>Value/Chroma</u>
	Light Green	2.5BG	9/2
	Dark Green #	7.5BG 7.5YR	8/4 3/2 or 3/4
	Olive Green	5GY 10Y	6/8 2/2
	Evergreen	2.5P	4/4
	Bright Green	10GY	6/8
	Aqua/Clear	2.5G	7/6



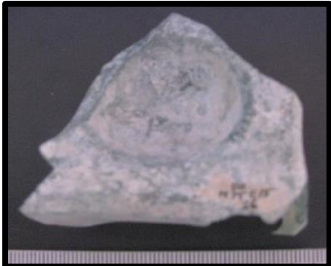


<u>Photograph</u>	<u>Glass Colour</u>	<u>Hue</u>	<u>Value/Chroma</u>
	Black	N1	.25/
	Clear	5Y	9/2




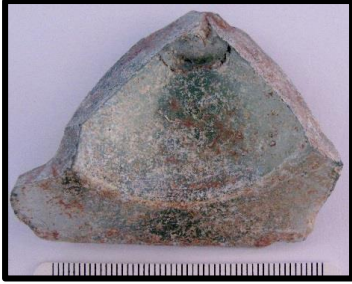

APPENDIX G: UNIDENTIFIED GLASS AND METAL






Type Number	Site Location	Photograph	Measurements	Description
Type A1	Huntley Street		PH/MH-Between 50mm-65mm high	Dark green glass base: Deep push-up (very high, cone shaped). No pontil scar.
			Heel-12mm	Bubbles in the glass. Base has several bubbles.
			MD-74mm wide	Marbling effect in the glass. Push-up is slightly off centre, sand particles in composition of the glass.
			336.63g	Turn mould Exhibits high polishing (Used on tumblers)?
Type A2	Huntley Street		MD-75mm wide	Clear/Aqua base: Circular shallow push up with pontil scar. Scaly deposit on the base.
			82.74g	Post-Bottom Mould?
Type A3	Huntley Street		MD-40mm wide.	Clear/Aqua glass base: Flat base fragment, with large bubble.
			12, 12g	
Type A4	Huntley Street		Heel-12mm	Clear/Aqua glass base: Concentric circles around the base. Evidence of a pontil mark visible
			MD-68mm	Post-Bottom Mould?
			35,64g	
Type A5	Huntley Street		11.65g	Clear/Aqua base fragment
			50mm wide.	






Type Number	Site Location	Photograph	Measurements	Description
Type B1	Farrmerfield/ Middel Plaas		PH-33mm high	Body and base fragment
			Heel-8mm wide	Clear/ Aqua colour
			MD-60mm wide	
Type B2	Farrmerfield/ Middel Plaas		Between 46mm-71mm high	Black glass bottle base and PH: Three mamelons on the base.
			MD-74mm wide	Concentric circles around the base.
			IRD-60mm	Smooth inside the base but the side slopes away to one side.
			304.35g	
Type B3	Farrmerfield/ Middel Plaas		45 mm wide	Pink glass fragment
			11,72g	Cross hatched pattern
				Square shape
Type B4	Farrmerfield/ Middel Plaas		Heel-2mm	Blue glass base fragment
			PH-24mm	Hexagonal Shape
			6,40g	
Type B5	Farrmerfield/ Endulini		MD-45mm wide	Light green base fragment:
				Rounded flat heel.
				Letters embossed onto bottle base-A and C
Type B6	Farmerfield/ Elisutho		IRD-16mm wide	Pressed glass bottle, body and neck piece:
			NH-27 mm wide	Oval body shape, squared off at the sides, tool marks on the lip.
			ND-20mm	One solid piece of glass.
			PH/MH-70mm	Sheared lip (Mould blown)
			Shoulder -10mm	
			68,86g	



Type Number	Site Location	Photograph	Measurements	Description
Type B7	Farmerfield/ Emakhobokeni		0,82g	Clear glass, partial lip fragment:
			Lip-8mm wide	Flared Lip
Type B8	Farmerfield/ Emakhobokeni		9mm	Clear hexagonal base fragment.
			MD-24mm wide	Polygon Base (Fike 1987)
			4,51g	
Type B9	Farmerfield/ Endulini		PH-43mm high/27,40g	Aqua glass bottle base and PH fragment: Bubbles in the glass.
			Heel-3mm wide	
			MD-34mm wide	
			IRD-28mm	
Type B10	Farmerfield/ Endulini		30mm wide	Aqua hexagonal glass base fragment.
			5.88g	Aqua medicinal bottle piece, blown, Hexagonal?
				French Square
Type B11	Farmerfield/ Endulini		33mmx28mm	Clear glass square base.
			8.07g	Ink bottle? Perfume bottle?
Type B12	Farmerfield/ Endulini		35mm wide	Aqua tumbler glass?
			10.62g	

Type Number	Site Location	Photograph	Measurements	Description
Type C1	Fort Double Drift/ Inside Fort		Clear bottle base fragment:	Body and base fragment
			Circular pontil scar, 20mm in diameter	Clear/ Aqua colour
			40mm wide	
			9.14g	
Type C2	Fort Double Drift/ Inside Fort		24mm in length	Clear glass finish fragment:
			1.68g	Colourless glass finish fragment.
Type C3			Light green case glass base:	Case bottle base, blown, 2 1/4" square, light green glass, kick-up
			Blown	
			Circular push up-Very shallow	
			56mm in length	
			Push-up 32mm wide	
			Short side-30mm	
			PH-24mm	
			50.38g	
Type C4	Fort Double Drift/Inside the Fort		11.73g	Clear glass bottle base:
			Clear pontil mark	Ring pontil
			PH-12mm	
			IRD-17mm	
			MD-22mm	
			Heel 6mm	
Type C5	Fort Double Drift/Small Midden		Rounded indented push-up, 38mm in diameter	Deep round push-up, 38mm in diameter.
			No evidence of a pontil mark	No pontil mark visible.
			IRD-52mm	Blown bottle with a turned base.
			MD-63mm	Concentric ring around the base, with a small dot in the centre of the mould.
			PH-70mm	
			132.40g	
			Heel 7mm in diameter	

Type Number	Site Location	Photograph	Measurements	Description
Type C6	Fort Double Drift/Small Midden		IRD-41mm	Full olive glass base:
			MD-58mm	Rounded push up, smooth and symmetrical
			Round push-up	
			No pontil mark visible	
			49.69g	
			PH-23mm	
Type C7	Fort Double Drift/Large Midden		Clear glass case base:	Clear/ Aqua base
			53 mm x 40 mm	Flat base-Could possibly be rectangular.
			30.81g	Medicinal bottle base-2" square
Type C8	Fort Double Drift/Large Midden		Black bottle base:	Embossed, moulded bottle base with three dots in the shape of a triangle and a "P" where a fourth dot would have made up a square
			Base diameter-78mm	
			Base diameter with heel-88mm	
			Deep push-up	
			No pontil scar visible	
			PH=20mm	
			Two indents and a raised bump visible on inside of bottle base	
			191.33g	
Type C9	Fort Double Drift/Large Midden		Clear glass partial base:	Clear/ Aqua base
			60mm wide	Circular push-up, flat base, possibly a case base.
			24.10g	
Type C10	Fort Double Drift/Large Midden		Black bottle glass base:	Rounded concave centre-No pontil mark
			Smaller than a wine bottle	
			30mm in diameter	
			PH-14mm	
			12.57g	

Type Number	Site Location	Photograph	Measurements	Description
Type D1	Huntley Street		86.29g	Stirrup
Type Number	Site Location	Photograph	Measurements	Description
Type E1	Farmerfield/ Elisutho		7.37g	Coin bent over a metal fragments the thickness of a nail, with wording visible on coin-MARY
Type Number	Site Location	Photograph	Measurements	Description
Type F1	Fort Double Drift/Large Midden		8.67g	Iron knife blade fragment (inside handle part)
				Iron piece 3/4" -round, convex, unidentified
Type F2	Fort Double Drift/Large Midden			Knife Blade?
Type F3	Fort Double Drift/Large Midden		73 mm in diameter	Metal ring

Type Number	Site Location	Photograph	Measurements	Description
Type F4	Fort Double Drift/Large Midden		4.40g	Metal key or spoon fragments?
				Metal (Zinc?) with nail hole
Type F5	Fort Double Drift/Large Midden		Metal Spoon tip (?) with hole for hook	
Type F6	Fort Double Drift/Large Midden		18.20g	
Type F7	Fort Double Drift/Large Midden			B shaped metal-Brass
Type F8	Fort Double Drift/Small Midden			Very heavy lead shot/weights?

Type Number	Site Location	Photograph	Measurements	Description
Type F9	Fort Double Drift/Small Midden		32mmx28mm	Lead fragment
Type F10	Fort Double Drift/Large Midden		4.91g	Iron Wire Fitting